Hindi Semantics

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Hindi Semantics

by

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Hindi Semantics

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Dedicated

to

my most revered Guru Dr. Siddheshwar Varma

with

affection and gratitude.

- 1. SEMANTICS.
- 2. IMPORTANCE OF SEMANTICS.
- 3. THE SCOPE OF THE PRESENT STUDY.
- 4. ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

1. Semantics.

"Semantikos" is a Greek word derived from "sema" (sign) going back to the Indo-European dhiei (to see), which is paralleled by OIA dhyanam (introspection) and the reduplicated form in Persian "didan" (to see). A "sign" in the sense implies something which attracts the eye. In language it has come to mean a word, which is the symbol of expression, the symbol denoting an object. In this connection also compare the word 'varna'-which originally means 'colour', a sign, and then a sound or a letter. Semantics as a branch of linguistics deals with the word as a symbol, with its symbolic values or meanings. The nature of linguistic meanings, the historical mutations of meaning, problems of translation, or of the conveyance of meaning from one linguistic medium to another, all these are problems of Semantics.* In the "Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology's of Baldwin, Semantics is defined as "the doctrine of historical word meanings, the systematic discussion of the history and development of changes in the meanings of words", The definition is defective in so far as it restricts the science only to its historical branch.

According to Oertal, semantic problems include: "By what means has a given language in each individual case expressed its thoughts? How many meanings is the same form capable of expressing? In how many different forms can the same thought be expressed?" †

Semantics may be classified under two main heads: (1) Synchronic

^{*}Wilbur Marshall Urban: Language and Reality, 1939, p. 95.

^{†&}quot;Lectures on the Study of Language", p. 280.

and (2) Diachronic (terms used by Saussure). Synchronic semantics is that which is applicable to all ages and places. (The term comes from Greek "syn", together, and "chronos", times). There are certain phenomena of Semantics which are universal, whatever the time or place may be. Such problems as the rise and death of words, their meaningfulness, the nature of meaning, the relation between word and meaning, synonymy, multiplicity of meaning, etc., are common to all languages, dead or living, and belong to all linguistic families.

Other phenomena, which are subject to change, are called diachronic from Greek "dia", through, and "chronos", times. The historical side of semantic problems, the changeability of meaning, and the national peculiarities of usage, idiom, syntax and style may be placed under this head.

These, then, are the various problems that Semantics is called upon to deal with.

2. Importance of Semantics.

If properly applied, Semantics can unfold a vast amount of material for historical research. The evolution of meaning, the distinction of words, the richness of expression, the trend of semantic change, the usage and the style of a language, all show the various aspects of the culture of its speakers. "Language", says A. H. Sayce, "is the reflection of the thoughts and beliefs of communities from their earliest days, and, by tracing its changes and its fortunes, by tracing the origin and history of words and their meanings, we can read those thoughts and beliefs with greater certainty and minuteness than had they been traced by the pen of the historian." Semantics contains a vast material for historical and pre-historical study.*

When we consider that almost all the words of every language have meanings belonging to them alone, and that the corresponding

^{*}In this connection see how W. Brandenstein applies the principles of Semantics to fix up two stages in the evolution of the primitive Indo-European Speech. A resume of his work has been given in the Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta, 1937, by A. B. Keith.

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words in other dialects reputed to be their representatives scarcely ever express the precise meaning of their correlatives, we can in some measure estimate the extent to which our thought is nationalized by our tongue. Nations are not wholly unlike in their thoughts, but the signs, by which they express these thoughts, (i.e., words) frequently have different shades. The elemental thoughts and ideas are the same, but the expressions may be different. It need not be said that only those thoughts are embodied in a single word which occur often enough, and are crystallised into uniformity to recommend this short mode of presenting them. Some thoughts are more important to one nation than to another. All languages have a word for 'father', but 'few distinguish between 'aunts' and 'uncles'. Some languages have two words for two shades of the same idea, while some have but one. The Semantics of a language shows the linguistic, mental and cultural milieu of its speakers.

Bhartrhari says that all objects of thought lie inherent in Shabdas (words) in a subtle form.* An exact analysis of the signification of words would make us better acquainted than anything else with the operations of the human mind. Semantics is an important branch of logic and psychology. That language is a mirror of man has long been recognized by philosophers, psychologists and philologists. There is no other branch of Linguistics which can show this.

The purpose of language, said Patanjali, is meaning, for, he says a man speaks to another with a view to communicate his ideas. The communication of ideas is based on understanding which, in turn, is based on the convertional acceptance of meaning. Semantics is, therefore, the most inclusive aspect of language.

In ancient times, Semantics was considered an important item of grammar. Patanjali refers to the ancient custom by which a long and intensive study of Grammar, including Semantics, preceded the study of the Vedas. Yaska frankly admits that the study of the Nirukta (Etymology and Semantics) derives its importance from the fact that the meanings of the Vedic texts are not otherwise comprehensible.† It was undoubtedly to preserve the Vedic texts

†athapidamantarena mantresvarthapratyayo na vidyate (Mahábhásya I, p. 6).

^{*}sarvá apyarthajátayah súksmarúpena shabdádhisthánáh (Vákyapadiya under Kar. I. II9).

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intact and to save them from misinterpretation that particular attention was directed by ancient Niruktácháryas and grammarians towards this subject. It was considered as a means to the attainment of religious merit.

Semantics, as the historical science of meaning, is also useful to Lexicography, Grammar, Phonology, Poetics and Stylistics. A word contains a notion and presents a relation of this notion to other notions. Semantics explains the historical relation of the various meanings or notions of a word, and a dictionary records them frequently in a pell-mell order, but a historical lexicon based on scientific methods should do so in strict historical sequence. Lexicography, in its ideal form, cannot develop without the development of semantic studies.* Lexicography cannot always depend on etymology, which merely tells how meanings begin. Words incline to diverge from their radical meaning, and the history of their later developments is the subject of Semantics. A word may be brought, by a long or short series of intermediaries, to mean almost the opposite of what it at first signified. Then there are homonyms which cannot be explained derivatively without a consideration of their meanings. Further, etymology does not impose gradation of meanings of words.

Semantics alone will explain the differentiated usage of dudh and khir, namaste and pranam, bhakti and priti, bith and vistha or bhoj and bhojan. Yaska has expressly stated that the science of etymology, though it has its independent character as well, may be viewed as a complement to Grammar (i.e., the semantic side of grammar). With regard to the distinction of synonyms, Semantics can guide tremendously. Lexicons of the day give a number of synonymous words in one article without differentiating the shades of meanings in them.

We have also noted how Semantics and Grammar are interrelated. The term Vyákaran (or Grammar), meaning as it does the Science which dissolves words into elements (stems and suffixes) and thereby brings out their exact meanings, is in itself an indication that grammar, etymology and semantics are intimately connected. The ancient term, denoting a grammarian, seems to have

^{*}brahmanena nişkarano dharmmah şadango vedo adhyeyo jneyashca, etc. M. B. I, p. 6.

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been vágyogavit i.e., one who knows the connection and usage of words. The word 'Shabda-Shástra', for grammar, clearly suggests how closely Semantics and Grammar are related. Shankara explains that grammar, by division of words, enables us to comprehend their meaning, and in modern times, Jespersen in the 'Philosophy of Grammar' believes that for a clear understanding of Grammar a psychological study of language is most essential. Bhartrhari extols highly the importance of grammar, and boldly asserts that it is impossible to comprehend the meaning of words without an adequate knowledge of grammar.* Semantics, for the matter of that, is still more important, as it takes up the meaning of words and sentences as the direct subject of its study, and it includes grammatical sematology, too.

Grammar explains what is a correct sentence. But Semantics tells us the full significance of a sentence, with all its implications.† There are, in every language, idioms and phrases which are grammatically incorrect but semantically most expressive. A study of meaning will revise not a few of our grammatical notions, and in no department of linguistics, perhaps, is this revision more needed.

As to the relationship between Semantics and Phonology, a phonologist has to take into consideration the meanings of words under his investigation. He must not judge from appearances only. Similarly a Semantician has to look to phonetic change for a right comprehension of meaning-change. Words should be investigated phonologically, morphologically, syntactically, etymologically and semantically. The conclusions of all the five separate investigations must be in harmony if the result is to be deemed scientifically exact. Even if four agree and only one is irreconcilable with the rest, the whole problem has to be reconsidered or abandoned. A knowledge of Semantics is, therefore, not only useful but imperative for all branches of linguistics.

Semantics has also helped Poetics. It is the sound and the meaning (says Mammata) that go to constitute poetry. The body of poetry, to use the language of the 'Ekávali', is composed of two elements: Sound and Meaning. Semantics, with its exhaustive study of suggestions can throw a flood of explanatory light on the

^{*}tattvávabodhah shabdánám násti vyákaranádrte, (Vákya. I, 13). †Vide the Chopters on "Sematology of Gramma" and "Syntactical Meaning".

delicate shades of meaning which poetical words have come to acquire in various contexts; how metaphor evolves and how various figures of speech are differentiated. There is still room for a scientific classification of the causes and incidence of figures, and this will be possible through a progressive study of words, phrases and idioms from a semantic point of view.

Semantics has its practical importance, too. Commenting upon the verbalism of 'fascism' and 'communism', Chase in his "Tyranny of words' (p. 13-14) says—"To say that it is a battle of words alone is contrary to the facts, for there are important differences between the so-called fascist and communist states. But the words themselves and the dialectic, which accompanies them, have kindled emotional fires which far transcend the differences in fact. Abstract terms are personified to become burning, fighting realities. Yet if the knowledge of Semantics were general, and men were on guard for communication failure, the conflagration could hardly start. There would be honest differences of opinion, there might be a sharp political struggle, but not this windy clash of rival metaphysical notions".

Mr. Ogden ('Meaning of Meaning') says, "Misunderstanding is the chief underlying cause of war". Certainly the misunderstanding of an important word or phrase, though not the chief, may be a contributory cause of war. The study of Semantics quickens our sense of the precise significance of words, and, therefore, our command over them will result in more fruitful methods of expression. We can better understand the actual use of words if we are fully conscious of their history. Without a proper understanding of the original meaning and its various developments, the writer's style loses in light and colour, and the speaker may be misunderstood.

A command of words not merely improves style, it aids reasoning. Thinking proceeds more securely the moment a hazy notion is given definite shape in the right words. It is necessary to learn the exact meanings of words in order to use them efficiently and to think logically. With the growth of semantic knowledge, there is sure to be more accuracy in discussion, legal as well as scientific, greater ease in education and more enjoyment in conversation than the customary "stones and scorpions" provide. There was a time when a strict observance of all niceties of speech was more important as an indiction of breeding than a rigorous conformity to the rules of grammar.

3. The Scope of the Present Study.

In recent years the existence and importance of the problem of meaning have been generally admitted, but by some sad chance those who have attempted a solution have too often been forced torelinquish their ambition. Semantics is the tenderest of sciences. It is a knowledge of the most appalling character—a trail high. steep and terrible. "The way is dark, the access precipitous, and the foothold very insecure". The difficult nature of the subject may be realized from the following words of Breal himself-"Again and again, repelled by the difficult nature of the subject, I have vowed never to return to the book itself. I have at last decided to publish this book which I have hitherto abandoned as often as I have begun". Scholars are afraid of being adversely criticized, as there are always divergent opinions on the etymologies, interpretations and usages of words, idioms and phrases. The region into which I have ventured to enter is almost a wilderness and there is noclear-cut way through it. Yet it cannot be denied that Semantics. is one of the most interesting and useful sciences. The field is wide open, and cultivators are badly needed. I am fully conscious of my limitations, vet I have chosen to explore this field rather than not to step into it at all for fear of criticizm or even censure. To make mistakes, as we are in the search of knowledge, is far more honourable than to escape making them through never having set out in this search at all.* "The Science", said Prof. Postgate, "is as yet in its beginnings. Its prime need is the collection of facts. The student of this subject must begin with what he knows (i.e., his mother tongue or cultured tongue). The science is in no position to disdain the humblest effort of the most insignificant contribution".

This was said 75 years back. But it is much to be regretted that no Indian scholar has yet devoted himself to the investigation of this branch of Indo-Aryan Linguistics. A few papers published on the Semantics of Bengali and Marathi are too sketchy. They simply apply the observations of Breal to Indian languages and take us no further. The present work is intended to supply that great need. At first it was suggested that the subject of this treatise should be limited to some one aspect of Hindi Semantics, such as "Polysemy"

^{*}Trench: On the Study of Words.

or "Synonymy". But then it was felt that a broad and comprehensive study of the science was a greater desideratum than an intensive study of some particular subject in Hindi.

The study of Semantics has to consider several aspects: What is the relationship between a word and an subject? Is that relationship eternal or otherwise? How much of it is eternal and natural and how much arbitrary and artificial? Does the word arise first and the meaning attach itself, or does the meaning necessitate a word? There are many other questions of this type which, strictly speaking, come under the "philosophy of meaning." Indian Grammarians and, particularly, Logicians have mainly concerned themselves with this aspect of Semantics.

The treatment of Semantics undertaken in the present study is linguistic rather than philosophic. It comprehends the following problems—

(1) Semantic sources, (2) Semantic categories, and (3) Semantic values.

Semantic sources may be phonetic, morphological and stylistic. It may be true philosophically that the meaning resides in the brain. But the form of meaning always refers to something outside the brain. It is the form of language that manages to convey a meaning. The sematology of sounds and sound-groups has been attempted in the first chapter of the thesis. Long lists have been given to show the semantic idealism of Hindi sounds. It will be clear from these that phonetic similarities play an important part in defining semantic similarities. Words having identical sounds do tend to express an identical idea, and Hindi shows a regular system of such a relationship between sound and meaning. The subject is old, and perhaps condemned as untenable, but the present study explains it objectively in the light of Hindi Semantics.

The first chapter, in a way, traces the origins of meanings. The analytical and synthetic aspect of meaning comes under the scope of this chapter.

The evolution of words based on sound combinations has been taken up in the second chapter which shows how meanings evolve. Meaning, as a socio-linguistic phenomenon, is a development—a gradual evolution from stage to stage. The theory of "Phonetic Semantic Modification" (P. S. M.) is a valuable contribution of this chapter to the semantic science. A detailed semantic analysis of

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prefixes, suffixes and infixes, has been made. The sematological aspect of compounds, repetitions, echo-words and intensives has also been explained.

The morphological sources of semantic study are related to words, word-fragments, including their function in a sentence. Most of the works on Semantics, as, for example, those by Weekley, E. Partridge, Greenough and kittredge, have concerned themselves with words and nothing but words. No doubt, words are important units of semantic study and an analysis of words must precede an evaluation of meaning in sentences. But semantics comprises the study of the meaning of all language-forms—sounds, syllables, word-fragments, stems, derivatives, grammatical forms and syntactical compositions. The sentence is the logical unit and the really significant part of speech. The so-called grammatical parts of speech will be considered in the light of their semantic function in Chapter IX. A semantic aspect of Syntax will be discussed in Chapter X.

Stylistics includes figurative and idiomatic expressions. Though this branch of semantic sources belongs more to the aesthetic side of language, every dialect, whether literary or non-literary, has some elements which have a peculiar flavour. No scientific study of the meaning-side of Hindi usage and idiom has not yet been attempted. The present thesis draws attention (Chapter VII) to a very important subject of Hindi Semantics as this. A new evaluation of literature has been made in the chapter on the "Figurative use of Language" (VIII). Typical figures only have been taken to show how far we employ language to arouse delicate feelings and to evoke strong emotions and how far various styles tend simply to show literary jugglery without adding much to the force of meaning.

Semantic categories or variations which meanings assume are the subject of four chapters in this thesis. Polynyms and Homonyms are discussed in Chapter III and Synonymy is dealt with in Chapter IV. The causes and effects of Polysemy and Synonymy in Hindi have been studied from various angles and it has been shown how we can utilize so much reversionary wealth in Hindi. In particular, these two chapters deal with the heterogenous as well as the homogenous trends in Semantics. It has to be noted that the process of development of meaning is from homogeneity to heterogeneity.

Semantic values have been ascertained in all the chapters but more fully in Chapters IV, V and VI. The importance of Chapters HINDI SEMANTICS zvi

V and VI lies in their details and comprehensive views on semantic changes and their causes. In a way, change is another term for evolution. Thus, the first six chapters of the thesis define the origin and development of meanings of Hindi words. The other four chapters explain the place of meaning in contexts and define its values in current speech. The comprehensiveness of the work may be ascertained from its contents and subject-indices. It takes up the problem of meaning in all forms of linguistic expression—from the minutest sound to the most complicated sentence through sound-group, words, word-combinations, idioms, phrases, proverbs, and syntactical forms.

The object of this treatise is to sketch a provisional plan in a domain which has not yet been exploited, and demands the combined labour of several generations of philologists in Hindi. It is the first study of its kind in this language, the language which has come to occupy an important status as the lingua franca of India and which has been recognised as an advanced literary language.

The most important feature of the present work is to explain the genius of Hindi. But, it also offers several observations on the general science of meaning and raises a large number of questions connected with various linguistic subjects. I have rather boldly advanced a number of theories, mostly original, and used the material from Hindi language and literature for purposes of illustration. The thesis, though on a specialized and most technical subject, has been written in a style that will interest every student of Hindi language or any other Indo-Aryan language. It will be of equal use to a specialist as well as a layman.

The work defines, the scope of Semantics as distinguished from Etymology, Grammar and Rhetorics.

At places comparative examples from Bengali, Gujrati, Marathi, Punjabi and Lahndi have been given with a view to excite the study of similar problems in those languages. These will not only satisfy, to some extent, the comparative philologist, but also determine a programme of research in other Indo-Aryan languages than Hindi.

It will be noted that profuse examples have been given to explain a single principle or phenomenon. I regard it as an asset of the work. Most of the examples are from literary Hindi. But it must be known that standard Hindi is still in the making. Literature employs Sanskrit forms side by side with colloquial and even dialectical words.

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4. Acknowledgments.

It is important to mention that I have made, as the references will show, a careful use of the scattered labours of Indian as well as foreign scholars to whom I feel greatly obliged.

I am particularly grateful to Dr. Dhirendra Varma, Dr. Sid-dheshwar Varma and Dr. S. K. Chatterji for their valuable guidance, constant help, stimulating criticism and many acts of courtesy and kindness.

I am perfectly aware of a large number of gaps and imperfections in this work. However, I crave the indulgence of scholars to receive it in its spirit rather than in its form.

My son, Devendra, deserves many thanks for his insistence on publishing the work. He has helped me in proof-reading, too. My assistant, Kailash Nath Shukla, has prepared the word-index and shown utmost care in checking up the transliteration of Hindi words and texts.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

adj.	adjective	no(s).	number(s)
adv.	adverb	Ο.	Oriya
Apabh.	Apabhrańsh	OIA	Old Indo-Aryan
Ar.	Arabic	onom.	onomatopocia(-ic)
Beng.	Bengali	р.	page
cf.	compare	Per.	Persian
chap.	chapter	Pkt.	Prakrit
conj.	conjunction	pl.	plural
Dan.	Danish	Port.	Portugese
	for example	pp.	pages
e.g. Eng.	English	P. S. M.	Phonetic Semantic
etc.	et cetra	2. 5	Modification
fem.	feminine	Punj.	Punjabi
ff.	followings	q. u.	which see
r. Fr.	French	s.	Sindhi
	German	sing.	singular
G(er). Gk.	Greek	Skt.	Sanskrit
	Guirati	Sw.	Swedish
Guj. H.	Hindi	ιbh.	tadbhava (derived
	that is	ton.	from Sanskrit)
i.e.	Irish	tsm.	tatsam (as in Sans-
Ir.	Lahndi	tam.	krit)
L(ah).		Tur.	Turkish
Lat.	Latin	U. P.	United Provinces
lit.	literal(ly)	0.1.	(now Uttar Pra-
Mar.	Marathi		desh)
mas(c).	masculine	/1-1	verb
м. в.	Mahabhasya by	v(b).	verb intransitive
	2 20 0012-300-	. y. i.	verb transitive
MIA	Middle Indo-Aryan	v, t.	volume
n.	noun	vol.	volume
NIA	New Indo-Aryan		

CHART OF PHONETIC SYMBOLS AND PRONUNCIATION

Symbol used	Pronunciation	Example
2	as in 'bud'	kal, cal
ai	two vowels a + i	bhaiyá
aí	two vowels a + i	gai
au	two vowels a + u	hauá
aú	two vowels a + t	gaú
á .	as in 'all'	kál
4i	as in 'mine'	nái
ai	as in 'sat'	mail
áú	$= \mathbf{\acute{a}} + \mathbf{\acute{u}}$	kháú
500	open o	kaun
b	as in 'bat'	bál
bh	aspirated b	bhár
C	as in 'church'	cál
ch	aspirated c	chat
ď	as in 'the'	dál
dh	aspirated d .	dhár
ģ	retroficx d	dál
фh	aspirated 4	dhál
e	as in 'ate'	mel
f	as in 'fate' (in foreign words)	Per. fanj
		Eng. fut
g	as in 'go'	gálí
gh	aspirated g	ghar
h	as in 'hat'	ham
i	as in 'bid'	sir
í	as in 'me'	mil
j	as in 'joke'	jal _,
jh	aspirated j	jhíl
k	as in 'kite'	kal, kál
kh	aspirated k	khál
1	as in 'look'	lábh
m	as in 'moon'	mel, mail
n	as in 'noon'	nái

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*	as in 'bench', 'sing'	máń
ņ	retroflex n (generally in Skt. words)	guņ
o P	as in 'mote' as in 'pull'	bol páp
q qh	glottal k (foreign) as in 'loch' (foreign)	haq qhub
r T Th	as in 'rat' reftroflex r aspirated r	rát bará búrhá
s sh	as in 'sit' as in 'she'	soná pashu
# t	retroflex sh as in French 'table'	doș terá
th ţ	aspirated t retroflex t, as in 'tree'	thálí tok'ri
th u	aspirated t as in 'book'	thik kul
ti v(w)	as in 'moon' as in 'very', 'war'	cáná valrí
y z	same as qh as in 'yes' as in 'zebra' (foreign words)	yah zor

Note—A minute (') between two consonants means that the consonants are conjunt in pronunciation but separate in writing.

Note bene—Skt. jth as in jthan has two pronunciations in Hindi—gyan and jthian. Similarly there are Sanskrit and Hindi words which have varied spelling or pronunciation. We have not tried to effect uniformity in transcription of such words, as it does not exist.

P. S.—The system of spelling Hindi words, native as well as foreign, generally conforms to the prevalent usage in pronunciation and transcription. Traditional spelling of purely Sanskrit words has been maintained for distinction. As there are very few printer's mistakes, no erratum has been given. Such mistakes have been corrected in the Index which also serves to give alternative spelling especially with -n-, -h-, or -n-, and with or without -n- or -a-

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SOUND AND MEANING

- 1. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOUND & MEANING
 - (i) RELATIONSHIP.
 - (ii) VARIOUS THEORIES.
- (iii) THE ACTUAL EXISTENCE OF SOUND-SYMBOLISM.
- (iv) WARNING.

1. i. Relationship.

"Throughout the whole history of the human race," writes Prof. Postgate, "there have been no questions which have caused more heart-searchings, tumults, and devastations than the questions of the correspondence of words to facts." Meaning has been defined by a vast majority of philosophers, Indians as well as Europeans, in terms of relation.* There is general agreement among

^{*}Petenjeli, Bhartrhari, Venkata, Vishwanath, Nagesha, Russell, Palmer, Stern and others.

See Orden and Richards: The Meaning of Meaning; and Dr. Siddheshwar Verme's paper on "Analysis of Meaning in Indian Semantics" (Journal of the Department of Letters, University of Calcutta, Vol. XIII, 1926) for detailed discussions.

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scholars that there is constant relation between sound and sense.* There is no word without a meaning and no meaning without a word. A word which has no relation (vyápára, shaktí or vrtti) is, of-course, meaningless. We learn the meanings of words by relating them to certain objects, ideas or actions.

1. ii. Various Theories.

There is, however, a great difference as to whether this relation is eternal or conventional. The idea that there is a natural correspondence between sound and sense, and that words acquire their form and meaning through a certain sound symbolism, has been a favourite one with Indian, Greek, Latin and even Arabian Scholars like Shaktayana, Farrar, Humboldt, Paget, Hilmer, Liancourt and Pincott, and many others, believe that language began as an expression of emotion. It was exclamative and not communicative. As such it was echoic, too. In echoic sounds the association with meaning was both immediate and easy. That is why first words were concrete, objective and Words are, therefore, imitative in origin. Their further semantic development, of course, confuses and conceals that relationship. Abbad-bin-Suleiman Zamirit and some other thinkers go so far as to suggest that words themselves express meanings through their sounds.

The second view, supported by a very large number of philologists including Whitney, Tucker, Sayce, Gray, Vendryes, de Saussure and others, is that, with the exception of onomatopoeic words and a few others, the connection between sound and meaning is, in appearance, arbitrary, and that there is nothing in the sound to indicate the meaning. Sounds by themselves have no inherent connection with the objects denoted. The changeability of meaning further shows that this relationship is not eternal.

The third theory suggests that association of a sound, even of

tazed: Sukhundan-Paras.

^{*}Siddhe shabdartha sambandhe. (M.B.) Shabdairuccaritaistesham sambandhah samavasthitah.

an enomatopoeic sound, with an object, situation or action is accidental. Frequently repeated, it becomes regular and conventional. There are no natural words, writes Locke in Book III of his "Essay on the Human Understanding", no specific connection between certain sounds and certain ideas; otherwise, "there would be but one language amongst all men."

The exponents of this theory contend that if sound can suggest any meaning by itself, why have we to learn meanings of new words and why do we consult dictionaries, why do sounds differ in various languages, why has one word various meanings, why should there be homonyms, doublets and synonyms in a language and why should there be so many languages at all?

1. iii. The Actual Incidence of Sound-Symbolism.

Saussure's theory appears to be the most practicable, namely that though the relationship between sound and meaning is arbitrary, in the sense that there is no internal relation between sound and the object denoted, it is natural in the sense that it is unconsciously picked up by the speaker from the environment. The overwhelming majority of words in a language are not given a sense deliberately by a society sitting down for fixing a convention. Hence the relationship between sound and sense is partly arbitrary and partly natural.

It is, of course, absurd to maintain that all words in all languages have a signification naturally corresponding to their sounds. Yet, we cannot reject, as Jespersen suggests, any idea of sound symbolism about non tollit seam.

It is yet to be discovered what words in a particular language show arbitrary relationship and what others have a natural correspondence with the object or action. Linguists must find out in detail what domains of human thought admit of sound symbolism and what sounds are chosen for different meanings in different languages.

In this chapter we shall show how far sound and sense are related in Hindi. Though it would be hazardous to undertake any linguistic generalization at this stage, it appears that in Hindi there is a trend to prefer certain sounds when certain meanings are

intended. Only later and co-ordinated investigation would further show whether this phenomenon has a bearing on general linguistics.

1. iv. A Warning.

It may be pointed out at once that sound symbolism in all languages and at all times does not work on general principles. It has been erroneously believed by certain linguisticians, including Locke that if, to take an instance, [ch] means "to cover" and "to cut", it should show the same meaning not only in Hindi but in all languages of the world. The theory, they think, is nonsense, if it is not comprehensive enough to include the languages of the world. But they forget that all sounds are national and all ideas are national. Each nation has to form words from the stock of sounds available to it.

Examples-

The passerine bird of a black colour is called 'crow' in English, 'kraki' in Icelandish. Cf. Vedic krkaváka, the Krk bird, the cock, káka in Sanskrit, kaúá in Hindi and káú in Punjabi. Now it is more than evident that the name is imitative of the voice of the bird. This voice has been interpreted in the national sounds of each language. The crowing of a cock may be interpreted as coocoo-roo-koo, kuk'rúú karúú, cock-a-doodle-doo, ga-ge-ge-gu, ka-ke-ki-ku, Dan. kykeliky, Sw. kukeliku, G. kikeriki, Fr. coquelico and so on.

Again, the same idea which lends itself to symbolic presentation in one language may be given an arbitrary word in another language. kasak is an onomatopoeic word in Hindi for Eng. 'urge' which does not appear to be symbolic.

Also cf. H. dur'durana and Eng. 'to frighten a dog';

H. catak'ma and Eng. 'to bloom';

Per. & H. bul'bul and Eng. 'Nightingale';

H. dal'dal and Eng. 'mud';

H. cas'pata and Eng. 'pungent';

H. phátak and Eng. 'gate';

H. khat'ka and Eng. 'apprehension'.

Also note that Hindi has no symbolic equivalents for hotchpotch, hurly-burly, helter-skelter, etc.

A study of Bengali onomatopoeias (as in Tagore's Bangla Shabda Tattva) would at once suggest that Hindi has only arbitrary words for a large number of symbolic words in that language.

Moreover, all words whether arbitrary or symbolic are incomplete. An object has several aspects and it may be named after any of those aspects. The 'moon' is from \sqrt{ma}, to measure, and its Skt. equivalent caádra is from \sqrt{cand}, to shine. The horse is called ashva in Sanskrit as it eats much (ashnátí) and tattá in Prakrit on account of the sound tattat used to drive it. Again there is every possibility of double or triple interpretation of natural sounds, as bhayak'ná, bhabak'ná, bhabak'ná, to burst forth; or sisak'ná, taras'ná, to long; or kal, mac'lá, ek, vomiting.

This also explains the existence of homonymy and synonymy in all languages. Both are largely due to the mixture of languages and of meanings in a particular language. [ch] usually suggests covering or cutting in the signification of Hindi words containing that sound, e.g. chál, skin, chán, shade, chán, pruning, ched, hole. The same meanings are available in cam'ri, sáya, kát, mori. But cam'ri might have been formed on account of the prettiness of the skin (cf. the meaning of [e] below), sáyá is a foreign word, kát is imitative of the sound and mori originally denoted 'a drain'. Similarly shah'má, gir'ná, pay'má are different sounds but they are indiscriminately used to mean 'to fall'. For the nature and meaning of homonymous and synonymous words also see chapters III and IV.

Anyhow, it is absurd to suggest that the acceptance of the theory of sound symbolism would involve the universalization of the meaning of a particular word. The theory as illustrated in the following pages has great possibilities. It becomes ridiculous only when we explain the connection between sound and meaning in proper mouns, foreign words and words that have semantically developed.

The following study, however, is offered as a latonumus which needs to be tried and refined by further research.

2. MEANING OF SOUNDS

- (i) Sound As a Unit.
- (ii) SIGNIFICANCE OF INDIVIDUAL SOUNDS.
 - (a) Vowels.
 - (b) Consonants. Initial Aspirates Non-Initial Aspi-RATES - COMMUNITY OF SOUND SEMATOLOGY IN NIA-UNASPIRATED CONSONANTS -- NASALS.
- (iii) PERMUTATIONS-COMBINATIONS.

As the scientists have found out atoms or electrons as the final factor of creation, so the semantician has to discover the subtle element of speech which relates to meaning. We analyse a composition into paragraphs, paragraphs into sentences, sentences into words in order to analyse meaning. Don't we need to analyse the word into sounds for the understanding of the composition of its meaning?

2. i. Sound as a Unit.

Indian Scholars have accepted the potential value of a single sound which they called infinite and absolute. Sound and Brahma are both aksara (imperishable). The Rais had general faith in the meaningfulness of individual sounds. The Rgveda says that the prayers reside in the eternal sound wherein the meanings manifest themselves. They who do not know the significations of those sounds can gain nothing by the prayers.* Patanjali, the great grammarian. commentator and the writer of 'Mahabhasya', believes that the nucleus of speech is a sound.† He remarks that all roots are originally monophonic.‡

The Brahmanas, Upanishads and Niruktas have greatly relied on this theory for the etymologies of Vedic words. The Chandorva

^{*}Ranada I. 164.09.

[†]M.B. I. 12. ‡dhátavah ekavarpáh arthavanto drsyante. (M.B.)

Upanishad explains the meaning of the word satya thus-

[sa] means amerta, immortal;

[ta] means martya, mortal;

[ya] means 'that which determines'.

Satya means 'that which determines the immortal and the mortal, the finite and the infinite.'

The Gopatha Brahmana gives the following meaning of the word bharga-

[bha] signifies 'one that kindles';

[ra] signifies 'one that pleases or gratifies';

[ga] signifies 'one that moves or directs'.*

The word makha is said to denote 'without' (for ma) and 'flow' (for kha).

The Yogashastra of Patanjali includes among 'sanyamas' of Yogas the contemplation of meanings in individual sounds and affixes which are the nuclei of all speech.

Our Sanskrit lexicons record the several meanings of almost all individual letters considered as potential words.†

Below are given the sounds and their meanings as they exist in Hindi.

2. ii. Significance of Individual Sounds.

2. ii(a). Vowels.

The principle of sound-meaning in general may be briefly stated with reference to vowels in particular. [a] is the basis of all sounds. It manifests itself in all phonemes. All vowels start with an [a] for their articulation, and consonants are defined as sounds which cannot be uttered without the help of vowels. [a] is an all-pervading sound. Hence, it means 'all', 'pervading', 'full', 'one', 'entire'; and,

bha iti bhásayatítímámllokán.

ra iti ramjayatitimamllokan.

ga iti gamatitimamilokan. †See Ekakşari koşas, or Monior Williams. Also compore Tantra-Bija-Mantras.

because in pronouncing it the mouth assumes the form of a cavity or O, it means 'zero', 'negation', 'absence' or 'void'. Compare the meanings of addr (not distant), agest (absence of movement). It may be noted that [a] is fuller than [a]. Compare the meanings of ativan (all life), akasha (expanse). [a] is an even sound, but when it takes a movement forward it become [i]. Hence [i] means 'movement' or 'turn'. Compare the root vin, to go, vir, to move. In pronouncing [i], the sound-waves do not go far off. Hence [i] also means 'near' as in ita, here, idanim, now, and iha, this world. In the same way, mostly according to phonetic, physical and psychic principles the sound [u] means 'above', 'distant', 'and', etc. [4], [1], [al. [el. [ai], [ai], [o], [au], [m], are all extensional forms of these three basic vowels, and they, therefore, extend the meanings signified by them respectively.

Examples-

[a] asammat, dissentient

att, sonless.

[á] áná, to come Asim, scated.

áshá, hope

The neutral or negative effect of the prefixes a- and an- may be noted in this respect. [a] is a neutral vowel, oscillating between [i] and [u].

[i] is, this icchá, coming of a feeling,

iti, this much desire indu, that comes up, the moon

iád, near

it'na. so much

ista, near and dear

idhar, this way

etc.

[u] us, they uk'táná, to detire to be akel'nd, to turn up ncakká, one who takes away, thicf nchál'ná to fling

udhar, that way utháná, to take up, lift away, to be fed up wgal'ma, to spit out udás homá, to be sad ughar'na, to be taken off, to open

mr'ma, to fly

Compare also the force of the prefix set, up, in a very large number of tem, as well as thh. words.

[e] is a combination of [a] and [i] and generally denotes the meaning of [i], as in eri, heel, ekká, one—horse carriage, equation, desire, equa, roe. As a combination of the meaning of [a] and [i], i.e. 'negation' and 'movement', it denotes 'motionlessness', 'steadiness', 'wholesomeness', as in ek, one, whole, endua, coil.

[0] is a combination of [a] and [u]. The meanings may be compared in oath, lip, ogh'an, to wrap, old, hailstone, etc.

It must be understood that a few vowels have to perform a large number of expressional functions. Hence each one of them has various significations. They are comparatively vague and abstruse in their meaning. They are also used to help the utterance of consonants with which they have a tendency to identify and merge.

2. ii(b). Consonants.

INITIAL ASPIRATES. The meanings of consonants are clearer. Of these, too, the aspirates have distinct signification. They denote various qualities of sounds which, by the combination of other letters, have come to signify so many objects, actions and notions. Let us first take up initial sounds.

[kh]

[kh] denotes 'hollowness', as in-

khená, to lose khareác, a bruise khareác, a bruise khankháv, a blemish in a

horse

dates

khaájírí, a small drum khál, skin khál, chafi khán, mine khálir, palm, a sweetmeat,

khańj, lame khański, a cow-pen khattá, a granary

khod'ma, to dig

khandahar, ruins

khal, a worthless fellow khali, dress of seeds

khád, manure, dung

khotá, faulty khoák, feeble

khap, husk, straw

khap'nd, to be used up khabba, mutilated, left

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khadan, a pit khop'ri, the skull khadan, moist alluvial land.

[kh] as a sound relates to sky. Note the preservation of this meaning in khagel, astronomy, khacar, cloud. From this it has evolved to mean 'light'.

Compare-

khará, bright frank, pure khul'ná, to open

khar'så, summer khij'nå, to fret

khir'ki, a window (for light) etc.

khil'ná, to bloom khel'ná, to play

khun'sáná, to be angry, to burn

[gh], as a sound, denotes 'friction', as in-

ghis'na, to be rubbed ghasit'na, to drag ghariyal, a gong ghum'na, to wander ghin, nausea, disgust ghut'na, to be powdered ghanak'na, to thunder ghay'na, to make ghanti, a gongbell ghav, wound ghant, draught ghungh'ra, bell ghir'ni, a pulley ghun, weevil

etc.

It also gives a feeling of disturbance and over-crowdedness. Compare—

ghaná, thick ghan'ghor, cloudy ghanghol'ná, to stir ghab'ráná, to be preplexed ghah'ráná, to roar ghir'ná, to be surrounded ghal'ná, to mix up gham'sán, carnage ghátá, loss ghap'lá, confusion ghamas, heat ghar itself is a crowded place ghurak'ná, to brow-beat ghátá, valley.

[ch]

[ch] denotes 'cutting' and 'covering'.

Compare-

(a) chast'sa, to grow thin chat'patand, to tumble about, to be agitated chan'nd, to sift choy'ná, to leave chay'ná, to pound and husk ched, a hole chemi, a chisel

chij, decrease chil'ma, to pare cher, vexing (b) chaj winnowing basket chány, shade chátí, chest chat, roof chápá, attack cháv'ní, cantonment

chirak'na, to sprinkle chop, a coat of paint chil'mi, to peel chola, gram in a pod.

churi, knife chotá, small chille, shaving chadma, disguise chol'dari, a tent chátá, umbrella chip'na, to hide chal bark chich'rd, slough cháná, to touch chil'ka, husk, (a cover) chol'ni, a scraper, and

Compare chúchá, empty (as a cover), with khokh'lá, empty (as a hollow).

(美)

[jh] shows 'suddenness', as in-

jhat, at once jhanjhor'na, to shake ihari, shower jharájhar, rapidly jhapak'ná, to spring jhal'ki, flash jhárú, broom jhur'mat, a crowd jhoáká, a puff

jhanjhat, wrangling jhak, insanity jhar'na, to drop jhapattá, assault jhalak'ma, to shine jhánk'ná, to peep jhijhak'ná, to hesitate jhoák'ná, to cast jhirak'na, to scold.

Compare ghur'na, to look angrily, and jhur'na, to pound; and also ghám'na, to roam about, and jhám'na, to wave, to hang down.

[th]

[th] shows 'deformity' and 'violence', as in-

thag, a robber thattha, a jest thing'nd, dwarfish thuddi, chin theká, contract that'ma, to oppose

thath'ri, a skeleton thank'na, to break thall, worthless thunth, a stump thee, a blow that're, potherd.

drawing water

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Compare thathak'na, to stop, jhijhak'na, to hesitate, the one showing violent reaction and the other suddenness. There is likelihood of such meanings to coalesce.

[db]

[dh] shows 'slowness of movement', as indhila, loose dhandhorá, search, a large dhál, slope drum which has slow dhakel'na, to push muffled sound dhalak'ná, to slip down,

dhenkuli, a machine for to fall

dhela, lump of clay dhoná, to carry

dher, heap dhor, cattle

dhith. obstinate

dháras, persuasion

etc.

[th]

[th] means 'shelter', as inthambh, pillar, post thám'ná, to support thavai, a mason tháti, a trust tháná, a police station thir, fixed thop'ná, to plaster

thaili, a bag.

thapak, to tap thal, place tháng, a den of thieves than, a place (for shelter) thál, a plate tháh, bottom, end theg'li, a patch

It may be compared with [ch] which means 'covering'. [th] as a sound denotes apprehension or danger, as in thar'tharana, to tremble, thalak'na, to flutter, thappar, slap.

[dh]

[dh] signifies 'holding', as indhan, money

dhán, rice dhaj, form dhará, a party dhunatal, wealthy, wicked dhun, application.

dhandha, business dhar'na, to place dhar, body dhanni, a beam dhyan, attention

Compare Skt. V dha-dhárane.

As a sound it shows noise of a frightening nature, as in-

dham'ki, threat dhap, noise dhap'ki, fear dhillin, assault dhuidh'li, dim dhappá, thump dhamáká, firelock dhakká, push dhun, sound dhun'ná, to card

etc.

[ph]

[ph] means 'breaking' and 'growing', as in-

phat'ná, to crack pharak'ná, to flutter phorá, a blister pharah'rá, a flag phaláág, a bound phasáná, to entangle, to

phaban, charm
phal, fruit
phasak'ná, to burst
phir'ná, to move
phur'ti, activity

phan, the expanded hood

phúl'ná, to grow, phall'ná, to spread. phúńk, a puff phungi, a sprout.

phár'ná, to tear

[bh]

entrap

[bh] denotes 'delusion', as in-

bhanvar, a whirlpool bhakun, stupid bhagal, deception bhag'nn, to run away bhacak, startled bhar'kiln, showy bhaddn, clumsy bhavisya, future bhan'mati, actress

bhattá, allowances bhag'ván, God bhanga, hemp bhatak'ná, to go astray bhánd, a mimic bhay, fear bhaminí, a passionate woman

bhak'si, a drak room

bhút, past bhím, terrific bhál'ná, to forget bhálrav, dreadful bher, a sheep

bhoádú, silly etc.

It may be carefully noted that the meaningfulness of other sounds is responsible for various shades of meanings in different words, each being determined by the combinations of sounds constituting a word. 1

NON-INITIAL ASPIRATES. The same meanings of aspirates are also available in other positions of a word. But it is a striking observation that, as a rule, the initial sound asserts its dominance throughout. If the aspirate has been able to preserve its semantic entity in a non-initial position it is largely due to the stronger force of its meaning than that of the initial sound. It is especially forceful against a vowel or a consonant which has neutral meaning.

Examples-

[kh]-hollowness

ákhá, a wallet ukhár ná, to uproot

kakhmri, armpit

[gh]—friction and disturbance

agh, sin

ughar'na, to unfold

[ch]—cutting and covering

káńchá, a lion cloth ochá, mean múńch, moustaches (they cover the mouth).

[jh]-suddenness

ojhar, a thrust nijh'na, to dote

khijh'na, to fret.

[th]—deformity and violence ith'lana, to walk affectedly

kathor, hard, cruel

[dh]—slowness

arhat, sale by commission

mendhak, frog.

[th]-danger

uthal'na, to overset bithar'na, to be scattered

[dh]—holding

kandhá, shoulder ádhár, support

[ph]—breaking and growing uphan'na, to boil

hánph'na, to pant

akhárá, palaestra okh'li, mortar kokh, the womb.

megh, cloud

khanghál'ná, to rinsc.

sulajh'ná, to be solved bújh'ná, to learn

ainth'na, to distort moth, a low form of lintels lathi, stick.

buddhá, old

mathání, churn nathune, nostrils.

adhar, lower lip adhin, dependent.

aphar'ná, to be full daph'lí, a drum. [bh]—delusion ábhás, glare ubhán'ná, to alarm cubh'ná, to prick.

ábhá, light ubhár'ná, to excite

COMMUNITY OF SOUND SEMATOLOGY IN NIA. Although sound principles of different languages are different, sounds in NIA languages have common attributes. It may be noted that they all derive their sound sematology from OIA, that initial sounds of OIA are usually retained in NIA, and that borrowing from one modern Indo-Arvan vernacular into another is natural, easy and frequent. Once a particular meaning comes to be attached to a particular sound in OIA, it continues to subsist in NIA not only in tsm and thh words but also in Deshi words manufactured on the analogy of similar words containing similar meanings. Men, somehow, appreciate the relation that has come to exist between those sounds and those meanings. A study of several dictionaries of Indo-Arvan languages at once strikes the reader about the community of sound sematology in NIA. There is unity of system in so far as initial sounds are concerned. The diversity arises mostly in the non-initial sounds and that is determined by the respective phonology of each language. A few examples only can be given here.

Compare-

[kh] in Beng. khanan, digging

kháńcá, cage

Punj. khál, channel Guj. khakh, decayed khám, envelope khánjá, groove

khańkh. want, devastation khad'ki, a courtyard, a street, with which may be compared H. khir'ki, a window.

[gh] in Beng. ghám, to sleep ghur, to revolve.

ghola, turbid ghom'ta, veil

to turn

Punj. ghund, veil

Guj. ghac, pricking

ghar, hammering or cutting ghamágham, hurry ghál'vuá, to push

ghan, a weevil cf. H. ghun, S., P. ghun.

[ch] in Beng. chipi, a cork chání, cataract chánda, to wrap cholá, gram, to scrape 1

chánci, a needle

Punj. chejá, pecl

chání lid Guj. chado, sprinkling

of water

chand'vun, to cover with earth

chán, drug (cf. Punj. chán, husk)

chibun, a flat dish chidum, an opening in a hedge dhok, to gulp

[dh] in Beng. dhula, to nod

Punj. dhan, a pond

Gui. dhaddo, an illiterate dhabbú, a worthless person

person dhádhuń, a dead animal

dhas'lun, credulous etc.

UNASPIRATED CONSONANTS. Of the other consonants the cerebrals show deformity and diminution. They are very strong in their meanings which they retain in all positions. Examples-

[t] in tanta, strife, taka, a low coin. Compare also-

taká sá javáb, refusal tatti, a latrine tap'ka, dropping

tasak, stretch tát, a rough sackcloth tibba, a mound

tiddá, a grasshopper tunda, handless tut'na, to break terhá, crooked

toná, charm

chotá, small lattu, a top bhita, a clod kapat, fraud cot, injury

roti, bread but, gram

potá, the eyelid, young children,

tag'ra, squint-cycd tattu, a pony tarra, wicked, tantha, hard tápú, an island

tinda, a kind of vegetable

tika, a mark tuk'ra, piece tent, pod tota, loss

toli, a bad group

etc.

khotá, impure gattá, ankle kát'ná, to cut chánt'na, to sort cydáti, an ant beta, childl

hir'nauti, a young of deer

[4]

[d] has a sense of violence coupled with deformity or dimunition, as in—

dańká, a kettledrum dańdá, a stick dáká, dacoity daţ'ná, to stop dáb'ná, to be drowned dar'ná, to fear dáńt, threat dáh'ná, to burn dárh, grinder tooth daák, sting, nib dakár, belch daggá, a lean long-legged horse dapat'ná, to rebuke dab'rí, a cup dák'ná, to vomit dáás, a gnat dábh, a grass

etc.

land, penis rund'mund, shaven head mendak, frog pind, a lump tund, trunk sánd, a stallion gundá, a rascal bhondá, illshaped sánd, trunk jhandá, a flag

dig'na, to fall

etc.

[7]

[7] is more common than [4] in Hindi words, but it has the same signification. It may be remembered that [7] has evolved from [7] as well as [4]. Its meaning oscillates between the two. Examples—

kúrá, rubbish bhír, hornet kírá, an insect tor'ná, to break rár, quarrel bhír'ná, to fight ciriyá, a sparrow gur, a small lump of sugar jar'ná, to set mur'ná, to turn piájará, a cage

etc.

The meaning of cerebrals is most clearly defined in Hindi words.

[r], [1]

[r] and [l] express fineness and delicate feelings, [l] being sweeter than [r].

Compare [r] in-

rág, rang, love, enjoyment

rakta, blood

bher, shoep

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rakṣá, protection rac'ná, to plan
rát, night rájá, king
ratna, jewel rab'ṛi, thick milk
ralá, union ras'ná, tongue
ras, taste rah'ná, to live
ricá, a vedic mantra etc.

[r] has the tendency to express the same meaning as [r]. It is a well-known fact that on the one hand [r] is confused with [l] and on the other hand with [r] in Hindi words.

Examples-

rákh, ashes
pińjar, skeleton
rásá, dispute
rích, a bear
rank, begger
rár, fray
ráhu, Typhon
relá, a torrent
etc.

[1] in—

lal, darling lobh, lalac, ambition lár, saliva lar'ka, a boy lajjá, shame lacak, elasticity lik, a line laghu, light lila, sport lip'na, to besmear lugái, a wife lan, flame, attachment lanni, butter lola, earring landji, pickle lar'ka, a boy lená, to take khel'ná, to play hil'ná, to move billi, a cat dub'la, thin mil'na, to meet.

In a few cases [1] has the meaning of [r], as in $l\acute{u}l\acute{a}$, crippled, $lo\acute{a}d\acute{a}$, a lump, etc.

[r] and [l] are so delicate that they are easily affected by the meaning of [t] and [r].

Examples-

rithá, soap-nut rúńkhar, beggar rúńg'tá, short hair of the

box rogá, pebble lmádá, a boy lút, plunder rand, widow ranat, a wheel at a well

he ragar, friction body rend, castor lenr, filth lur'nd, to quarrel láthí, stick lunda, tail-cropt

lat, tangled hair

sánp, snake

sagal, all sańkul, crowded

sáthí, companion

sankoc, shrinking sak'na, to be able

sattá, existence

sajáná, to arrange together, to

decorate

lang'ra, lame

ctc.

[8] is not a Hindi sound. Even in Sanskrit words it is not common and, therefore, it is difficult to grasp the tendency of the sound. So also [sh] and [y] which occur only in tsm and loan words.

[8]

[s] denotes a 'movement with', as insangit, music and dancing

sanga, company sarak'na, to glide sánkar, a chain sańgrám, war sakor'ná, to gather up sakhá, friend sagá, a relative

sangh, heap sarak, road, as it goes along

sac, truth sadá, always

etc.

The sound has a strong ameliorative sense.

[v], [b]

[v] occurs generally in words which convey the idea of roundness The same meaning has been inherited or round about movement. by Hindi [b] (Western Punjabi and Sindhi [v]) from Sanskrit [v]. Compare-

Skt. valaya, bangle

vikása, development

váyu, air

viváh, marriage, going round valkala, bark of a tree

etc.

vasha, control vakra, crooked

vana, forest vápí, well

H. vápas, return

bas. control bájá, a musical instrument

bat'na, to twist

vikára, change vasudhá, the earth vandaná, a salute the fire varga, a tribe, a circle of

persons

vajra, diamond viraha, separation

bar, a banyan tree báns, a bamboo bát, a weight bator'na, collect

batohi, a traveller bándh'ná, to tie bang'la, a house bak'ná, to talk in a round bakherá, a broil

about way, to talk idle bagúlá, a whirlwind

bat'vá, a purse

barh'ná, to grow (on all sides) ban'ná, to make

etc.

W.P. vang, a bangle várá, cowpen

vanjun, to go etc.

bandh'na, bedding bandúhá, a whirlwind bandi. a waistcoat bacáná, to protect (from all sides)

batásá, bubble

vattá, a stone vá. wind

[p]

[p] has an idea of 'protection,' 'maintenance' or 'support' as in—

pál'ná, to bring up pauriyá, a door-keeper piná, to drink pakáná, to cook pair, foot pag'ri, turban piche, behind (in protection) pat, cloth pat, good name pattá, leaf panná, upper part of a shoe,

leaf, cover parikramá, going round palání, thatching

pás, about pran, vow

posan, nourishing pet, belly pakar'ná, to catch pakká, mature pakşa, wing

pacar, a slip of wood used to fill up a crevice panjar, skeleton paráv, halting place

patá, address pati, husband paras'na, to serve food palak, cyclid pitá, father

pot, the young (the protected) etc.

[c]

[c] denotes 'prettiness', 'smallness', or 'deterioration', as incandan, sandal wood cańdál, low born campá, cameli, flowers catur, wise, sly cappa, hand-breadth

cand, furious ciriyá, a house sparrow cakkar, a circle capat, slap camak'ná, to shine

cabútará, balcony
caran, foot
cup, silence
cátak, cuckoo bird
cikan, embroidery
cikkan, clean
citta, mind
cut'ki, a pinch
cirá, a checkered turban

cam'ri, fly flapper
cáin, a low class of Hindu
cákar, servant
cám, skin
cik'ná, polished
citra, picture
cith'rá, a rag
cungi, customs
cunni, a small ruby

etc.

(i)

[i] denotes 'birth', 'ris-', or 'formation', as injan'na, to beget jag, the world jag'ná, to rouse jangal, forest janjál, trouble ial, net jata, matted hair iar. root jar'na, to make, to fix jan, people jam'na, to be settled, to freeze jam'ghat, crowd jará, old age jay, victory, success ial'na, to break out (as fire), im. barley to burn jina, to live jáná, to go jibh, tongue (it rises) jit'na, to win jug, two pieces coming together in dice jug, age jev'ri, a rope jeth, born first or made first jog, junction júrá, top knot jot, spirit, flame etc.

[t], [d], and [k], [g], signify a variety of meanings. It is natural, too, because these are the sounds employed by the children, the primitive people, Indians, non-Indians, cultured classes and all alike. They are, perhaps, the most common sounds in Hindi. Roughly, it may be said that [d] denotes giving and shining in a large number of words, [t] shows expansion, [g] means going, and [k] escapes any definite meaning. It is the most fertile semantic unit in this respect.

[4]

HINDI SEMANTICS

din, day
dev, god
dakşa, dextrous
dená, to give
damak'ná, to glitter
dayá, affection
dahan, burning
dúdh, milk
dám, money
dekh'ná, to see
díth, eyesight
doná, cup

dai, fate
dakşiya, alms
dant, tooth
dab'daba, dignity
darshan, view
dahi, curd
dayan, right
damini, lightning
diya, lamp
dukh, pain
dut, envoy
daltya, demon.

[t]

[t] in—

tan'ná, to stretch
tak'lá, spindle
tańtu, tágá, thread
tap'ná, to be heated
tamak, pride
taml'ná, to weigh
tár, palm tree
tithi, day
tel, oil

ták'ná, to gaze tag'ri, a waist band tálu, palate tar'ná, to pass over tarang, a wave tavá, pan tár, wire tulá, scale tan, body

etc.

[g]

[g] in-

gangá, river gadhá, donkey gap, gossip ganváná, to lose gal'ná, to melt gali, street gáh'ná, to tread gau. cow

gaj, elephant gayá, gone gáná, to sing gal, neck gir'ná, to fall gáli, abuse gojar, a centipede gári, carriage.

Compare-

gom'ti, ghágh'rá, godáv'ri, gandak and other rivers.

Ы

[h] conveys a feeling of disturbance and also 'life' as in—
hak'lá, stuttering, stammering hakár'ná, to drive oxen
hakká bakká, perplexed
hát, market
hat'baráná, to hurry
hará, green

hath, hand, (the most active
part of the body)

Compare that red colour is the sign of danger and death.

har, Siva harşa, pleasure hil'ná, to move hulak'ná, to rush hari, Visnu hańsi, laughter hiya, heart hulas'na, to be rejoiced

cic.

The Nasals. Of the nasal consonants [n, w] [n, w] and [n] do not initially occur as independent sounds in Hindi. [m] gives various meanings and escapes definition. [n] denotes negativeness, as in—

na, not
násh, destruction
nihshvás, expiration
nikammá, useless
nicor'ná, to squeeze
nińdá, censure
niras, tasteless
netá, left-handed

narak, hell nikal'ná, to escape nińda, sleep nikrąta, despised nidar, dauntless naganya, worthless nyún, deficient nicá, low, uneven

etc.

The same meanings prevail generally in non-initial positions, but the initial meaning is dominant, although it is modified by other sounds. Sometimes, even the initial sound is covered by a strong sound that follows, as we have noted in the case of [t], [d], and [t]. That accounts for a large number of exceptions.

It is also possible that some sounds have more meanings than those specified above. A further research will one day elucidate and evaluate all sounds under semantic groups.

The meanings of sounds detailed above may be favourably compared with those of Sanskrit varnas (letters) discovered by Sanskrit lexicographers and etymologists and given below. Hindi has inherited much from Sanskrit, and has evolved semantic relationships of its own.

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[a]-all, full, pervading, imperishable, one, indivisible; absence,
negation.
```

absence.

[i]—possession; motion. nearness. [r] 来—truth, movement outside.

[e]-motionless, steady, full.

[n], [n], [m]-not, void,

[k]-tie; powerful, big, effective: comfort.

[g]—going, move away.

[c]-again; other, different, incomplete, limbless; piece. [i]-to be born; newness,

motion.

[t]-medium, ordinary, weak; hesitation, reluctance.

[d]-action, nature; unconscious, material.

[t]-bottom, below, this side; base, destination.

[d]—move, give, work.

[p]-protection.

[b]-to enter, to absolve, hide. [bh]-appear; out, light.

[r]—give, live, enjoy.

[\$]-knowledge.

[s]—company, sound; that.

[u]-above, distant, that; and,

[Ir]-fact, movement inside.

[o]-same, peerless.

[:]—certainty, end.

[kh]—sky, void, hollow, open,

[gh]-obstacle, stay, concentration.

[ch]-shade, cover, concealment; whole, etc.

[jb] -destruction.

[th]-certainty, eminence. fulness.

[dh]-certain, steady, upheld, conscious.

[th]-stay, object; above, that side, beyond.

[dh]-withhold, contain, maintain.

[ph]—to open.

[1]—take, enjoy.

[sh]-light,

[h]-certainty, end, absence, negation.

The following few illustrations are given to show how sounds continue to give a sensible meaning.

áp, water, > [á], from all sides, and [p], protecting. ghan, dense, > [gh], concentrated, and [n], void darkness, car, to move, > [c], again and again, and [r], movement outside. bhaga, the sun, > [bh], light, and [g], moving-moving light. bhú, the universe, sacrificial fire, > [bh], light, and [ú], distant.

Compare in Hindiuth, ris, > [u], above, and [th], fully. ánca, high, > [ú], above, [c], place and [á], fully. cal, to walk, > [c], placing, and [l], moving. mar, to die > [m], absence, and [r], movement. sun, to listen, > [s], sound, and [n], in the void. etc., etc.

2. iii. Permutations-Combinations.

On a closer examination, we shall find in the following pages that the meaning attached to these sounds is really inherent in the words containing them. Just as we analyse a word into Prakrti and Pratyaya, and words, though small in number in the beginning, grow by extensions and combinations with various affixes, inffixes and phonemical elements,* so do the sounds, limited in number as they are, are extended by permutations and combinations to form the rich stock of our expression. They now express the sentiments of so innumerable a multitude as all the past and present generations of men. "The plain elementary sounds of which the human voice is capable are about twenty (aspirated consonants being considered as formed from their unaspirated equivalents.)† and yet it has been calculated by the Mathematician Tacquet that one thousand million writers, in one thousand million years, could not write out all the combinations of the twenty letters of the alphabet, if each of them were daily to write out forty pages, of which each page should contain different orders of these letters. Of course, a very small number only of these permutations are at all required for every purpose of life."‡

It does not mean that original moods and notions were only twenty or fifty. But it is possible to class the number of primitive ideas under these fifty fundamental categories. Roget in his 'Thesaurus' has classified all the words of the English language under six headings divided into a total number of twenty four sections.

^{*} See chapter on Evolution of Meaning.

[†] The paranthesis is ours. ‡ F. W. Furar: An Essay on the Origin of Language, p. 80.

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The further sub-divisions and relationships are determined by these categories and topics. Notions may grow and words may increase but they must be able to find company with some existing words in one of these categories.

The variations in the meanings of sound combinations may be compared with the law of chemical substances. Every material consists of a single substance, or is a mixture composed of two or more substances, each of which exhibits a definite set of specific physical properties. The characteristic of a mixture is that each of the substances of which it is composed, although mixed with the others, possesses exactly the same properties as if it were alone. No one of the components alters the properties of any other component. Granite and flour are typical examples. The material forming one or more substances (such as oxygen and iron) without ceasing to exist, may be changed into one or more entirely different substances. Specimens of matter can lose their original properties and acquire new ones.

Sound combinations similarly react in these two ways: They may clearly indicate sound idealism as in the examples given above, or they may give rise to a new meaning as in many of the exceptions to be found in our vocabularies. It has been discovered that in all languages the names of objects, actions and ideas are generally imitative in the early stages. Most of the roots are distinctive in their meaning and a slight understanding of the nature of soundsymbolism of a particular language will enable a student to understand the vocables of that language at least in their original senses. Later developments in sounds and meanings, no doubt, create complications in relationships between sounds and their significations. Then, of course, it appears that that relationship is neither natural nor clear. Words appearing in new phonetic and semantic outlooks become indistinct and unidentifiable, just as a vulgar person clad in a new-fashioned suit generally becomes unrecognizable even to his or her own companions. The new meanings are largely due to the changes which we shall discuss in Chapters V and VI. Best examples of words with unchiselled meanings are to be found in onomatopoeias. The onomatopoeias are like chemical mixtures in which all elements are distinctive in their properties. Words changed in meanings are like chemical compounds in which each element has lost some of its properties into the other elements.

3. ONOMATOPOEIA.

- (i) HISTORY OF ONOMATOPOETIC WORDS IN HINDI.
 - (a) INHERITED ONOMATOPOEIAS.
 - (b) DEAD ONOMATOPOEIAS.
 - (c) DESHI ONOMATOPOEIAS.
 - (d) LOANS.
- (ii) SEMANTIC VARIETIES OF ONOMATOPOEIAS.
 - (a) DIRECT IMITATION.
 - (b) Action or Movement.
 - (c) ORIGINATOR OF THE SOUND.
 - (d) ECLECTIC SYMBOLS.
 - (e) ABSTRACT IDEAS.
 - (f) STATES OF THE MIND.
 - (g) Echo-words.
 - (h) NURSERY WORDS.
 - (i) LEARNED ETYMOLOGIES.
- (iii) THE ONOMATOPOETIC GENIUS OF HINDI.
 - (a) QUALITY AND MEANING.
 - (b) SUFFIXAL EXTENSIONS.
 - (c) QUANTITY OF SOUNDS AND MEANING.
 - (d) Echoic REDUPLICATION.
 - (e) Synonymous Onomatopoeias.

3, i. History of Onomatopoetic Words in Hindi.

It has been shown in the last section that a classification of meaning on the basis of sounds is possible. In onomatopoeic words the relation between the sound and meaning is immediate and clear, In spite of the theories of some master minds to the contrary, we are constrained to believe that onomatopoeia plays an important part in the formation of Hindi vocabulary. Onomatopoeia, says Gray,* is far less common than one would expect, and many of the demonstrable instances are reduplicated formations indicative of the repetition of the sound imitated. Gray is certainly confused in his definition of the term. It is not the singularity or duplication of the sound that goes to form an onomatopoeia, its imitative

^{* &}quot;Foundations of Language" 1939, pp, 275-76

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nature is the only determining factor. Moreover, it is not imperative that the sound imitated must fully express the sound of the thing it represents. Imitation is not only objective but also subjective. Again, a singular sound formed in imitation of a natural sound may be modified, extended and even corrupted. It is for the scientist to trace and mark its imitative character.

3. i(a). Inherited Onomatopoeias.

Gray further suggests that "in terming a word onomatopoetic the utmost caution must be observed, and in every case the criterion must be, not whether the word in a late form may seem to be onomatopoetic, but whether its Indo-European base may fairly be considered as imitative of the sound which its meaning implies." This view of a man of such an established renown is deplorable, indeed. Gray's criterion may be applicable to a few cases inherited and modified from IE and OIA and MIA. But it denies the right to NIA languages, or in fact, any language to manufacture new words. Hindi has created hundreds of deshi forms on the analogy of old ones. Moreover, as we shall presently see, a sound may start as an onomatopoeia but may develop its meaning metaphorically to signify attributes and abstract terms which cannot be imitated by sound at all. The people cannot compare their formations with Panini and Amarkosa and through them to Indo-European. Onomatopoeia is the result of emotion, inspiration and dire need. It is instantaneous, direct and immediate. It is the handiest tool of expression and effective, too. Onomatopoeia is the most popular form of word-formation in Hindi.

The following are some of the Onomatopoeias that Hindi has inherited from Sanskrit—

Skt. H. ghur'ghur, grumbling, humming Skt. H. thal-thal, a musical tune

Skt. chuchuńdara,
H. chachúńdar, musk rat
Skt. dhuńdhana,
H. dhúńrha'ná, to search.

wood-pecker Skt. chamachamita,

Also H. ghur'ghurá, a

rattling, H. cham'cham, shower

Skt. **jharjhara**, H. **jháájhar**, cymbal

It may be noted how the onomatopoetic nature of these words saves the sounds from decay, or else that that should become thath, chuchumdar, should be modified to chumhar, and so on.

3. i(b). Dead Onomatopoeias.

On the other hand, we find that most of the Sanskrit onomatopoeias have not survived. Just take onomatopoeias beginning with [k]. A reading of a dictionary will at once suggest that most of them are now dead.

Examples-

katháku, a bird
kiki, a blue jay
kikkisha, a kind of worm
kilakila, joyful sound
katakatá, rubbing noise
krauńca, heron
karkasha, hard
kákiņi, a shell or cowrie
kikhi, a monkey
kvaņa, sound
Or, take some other examples—
ghanághana, 'cruel
phupphu, panting
phadińga, a locust
ghúka, crow

katakata, excellent

kacati, cries
keká, peacock
kákola, a raven
kújati, coos
koka, a wolf
kańka, a sort of sandal
karkara, a broken piece
kákali, a swect tone
kákila, a jewel worn round
the neck
krand, to cry.

jhańjhá, wind

phih, a wicked person, anger phakka, to move slowly dhakka, a drum

etc.

More examples can be seen in Sanskrit lexicons.

3. i(c). Deshi Onomatopoeias.

The onomatopoetic creations are spontaneous and natural. The mortality of such creations is natural, too. Most of our onomatopoetic words are Deshi, i. e. formed by the people without any reference to their composition or meaning in OIA. Take words under [gh], for examples—

ghanghol'na, to stir (Skt. gharghara, a gurgling

ghagh'ri. a petticoat ghar'gharáná, to thunder sound) ghighiyana, to flater, to im-

ghicar micar, confused ghunghaci, a kind of seed ghurak'ná, to browbeat ghokh'ná, to read over and over again.

plore ghungh'ru, small bells ghusar phusar, whispering

The Modern Indian languages have increased many times their onomatopoetic stock of words. Hindi is quite rich in such formations. We leave it to future scholars to attempt a comparative and historical study of these onomatopoeias.

3. i(d). Loans.

It has been rightly observed by Jespersen that loans are taken not so much on account of any cultural necessity but on account of their phonetic semantic congruity. We have borrowed a large number of cultural words from Persian and they have been easily absorbed for the obvious reason. Examples of words that have been taken for their onomatopoeic suggestion, real or imaginary, are-

bul'bul, (Per. burda-burda), a nightingale totá, parrot kharásh, scraping kajak, the iron hook used in shábásh, bravo

cak'mak, (Tur.) a flint kashákash, struggle koshish, attempt khuráfát, talking nousense gotá, plunge.

takh'tá, plank khárish, itching driving elephants shisha, glass

kam'ci, (Tur.) a cane kish'mish, currants khash-khash, poppyseed gash, faint

3. ii. Semantic Varieties of Onomatopoeias.

3. ii(a). Direct Imitation.

Semantically, we have a graded variety of onomatopoetic words. A large number of them have almost a full imitative sense. Their meaning is clear and recognizable. Such words try to imitate the

actual sounds.

Compare-

jhamáká, splashing sound cíkh, shrick kuk'run karun, crowing of a bhann bhann, barking cock

chińk, sneeze dharak, palpitation cham'cham, sound of

tháp, sound of a slap phat, crack chan'chan, jingling sound red red, crying of a child khann, coughing sound

dhamáká, thud kánye kánye, crowing kur'kur, breaking sound kukú, song of a cuckoo bhabak, flaring noise dhun, the report of a gun shower tar, a sparkling sound dhánye, distant report of a cannon

dhap, clack of shoes jhan, metallic sound then then, laughter

etc.

Besides, there exist a large number of words which it is not possible to translate into any language, e.g. dut, dhik, kit'kit, san'sun, as in snuffing, bhal'bhal, bhar'bhar, thanthan, thakthak, tontan, etc.

A number of these sounds have been extended in Sanskrit for semantic distinction.

Examples-

phuńkára, hissing tankara, twang jhanjhakára, ringing

citkara, shricking jhańkára, tinkling dhikkara, reproaching by saying 'dhik'.

Compare-

Guj. kas'kas, a confused sound kar'kar, idle or troublesome

prattle

Mar. gongát, noise

ghat'ghat, gurgling sound

Ben. thap, thumping sound tas'tas, breaking sound

Punj. dhamakká, thumping noise garhak, rumbling sound

khar'kharát, rattling

khad'badát, loud noisc

khan'khan, rattling

khar'kar, knocking sound

etc.

3. ii(b). Action or Movement.

The imitative sound may often be developed and transferred to the action involving that sound. A sound is always produced by some action or movement; therefore it is quite natural that the action itself may be expressed by the word for its sound. Examples—

sán kar'ke jáná, as the arrow goes

kúkú kar'ná, to moan bal'baláná, to grumble mník'ná, to vomit phar'pharáná, to flutter mymń kar'ná, to mew khat'khatáná, to knock tut'láná, to prattle kat'katáná, to grind teeth bhinak'ná, to hum. thing moves
bar'baráná, to talk nonsense
pin'pináná, to cry
dur'duráná, to frighten a dog
tun'tunáná, to play slowly on
a guitar
gun'gunáná, to sing slowly
káńkh'ná, to grunt
catak'ná, to bloom

The number of such words is very large. More examples of distinct nature are—kul'kuláná, kĺk'ná, kikiyáná, gir'giráná, thú-k'ná, kur'kuráná, kic'kicáná, chan'chanáná, cús'ná, chúm'ná, húńk'ná, etc.

Compare Guj. karak'vuń, to crack, kakal'vuń, to boil, to grumble, bhad'bhad'vuń, to talk thoughtlessly, phumphá, frightening;

Punj. karak'ná, to break, kalak'ná, to boil, to fret, rirak'ná, to churn, kusak'ná to grumle;

Mar. chananeń, to jingle, kadam'daneń, to shiver with fever; Beng. dháń kariyá, sáń kariyá, boń kariyá caliyá gel, describing various types of rush.

3. ii(c). Originator of the Sound.

Some of these are names of birds whose chirps have been imitated and the sign used to denote the signified.

Examples—

kukú, dove gil'giliyá, a sparrow papihá, a sparrow hawk

kaák, heron koko, a crow. phuďki, a sparrow gil'gil, a water bird kuk'núń, lark keki, a peacock koki, a goose jakki, a bulbul tatih'ri, bul'bul, etc. are the names of birds.

Names of ornaments that make that sound are recorded in jhul'jhul, chará, jhum'ká, jháńjharí, dhuk'dhukí, dug'dugí. The following are names of children's toys papaiyá, chanak'ná, jhun'jhuná.

And below may be given names of objects which make such a sound—

tam'tam, a tumtum cart kar'ká, thunder gur'guri, a huqqa kicak, a kind of bamboo jhaájhi, a broken cowrie rora, a pebble.

The names of some musical instruments are clearly onomatopoetic, e.g.—

duádubhí, bherí, dhmásá, poágí, pop'ní, daph, kakká, daáká, gar'garí, dug'dugí, jhak'jhak, etc.

Compare Guj. jhar'mar, a kind of transparent cloth, a kind of anklets, kok, a dove, kok'ri, a goose; Mar. koákarú, a lamb; L. ghánghá, a bee; Punj. ghugghi, a dove, thedhú, an ear ornament, dhadh, a kind of tambourine.

3. ii(d). Eclectic Symbols.

Then there are words which are onomatopoetic in form but which represent objects or ideas having no direct relationship with the sound. The sound might have struck a listener at one time or from one feature of that object. But it is not its prominent feature. We may call them symbolized onomatopoetas or eclectic symbols. As a matter of fact all imitative words are symbolized forms, but these varieties do not show a clear connection between the sound and its meaning. They have only 50 per cent imitative value. Examples—

dal'dal, mud pop'lá, teethless mouth pat'kan, a stick tilak'ná, to slip tádá, locust phat'kár, snubbing hak'lá, stammerer kic'kie, nonsense talk bak'ná, to talk nonsense tak'ráná, to collide

dhuk'ná, to come near

jhapat, attack

cúhá, a rat

ihikh'na, to repent car'ca a rumour

hánk'ná, to call, to drive

dhalak'na, to slip down khangar, a badly burnt brick jhánván, a brick with holes iham'kárá, black clouds ihaihak'na, to stand still chul'chuláná, to stagger cil'cil mica

ghighiyáná, to request

humbly bis'bisana, to burn phah'ráná, to wave as a flag phat'ná, to burst

etc. tattů, a pony Compare Punj, ghaggha, hoarse, thattha, stammerer, thir'na, to shift, dhik'na, to push :

Beng, khúnt'khúnt, grumble:

Guj, khadak'vuń, to arrange, jhańjhotá, scolding; etc.

Skt. kitava, a gambler, vadánya, generous; Punj. háto, for a Kashmiri, rasha, a Pathan ; H. alli galli, for a Bihari, mosha, a Bengali, are catch words of the language of the person to whom they are transferred. Their imitative representation is evident. The relationship between sound and meaning, though obscure, at first sight, becomes clear when reminded.

3. ii(e). Abstract Ideas.

It is easily understandable that such things as, somehow, make sound even occasionally may be given onomatopoetic names. But light and movement in general are an object of the eye and not of the ear, yet we do have onomatopoetic names of various forms of movements. Light has movement and it may have symbolic expression.

Compare-

cakácmádh, dazzling, ihil'mil, twinkling.

But it is astonishing to find words for objects, attributes, and notions in which sound is totally absent. Take adjectives for instance-

bhini, sweet smelling dhaval, white phas'phasa, wcak khacákhac, crowded ihina, thin kar'karata, intensely cold karka, hard kan'kana, sensitive

bhas'bhasá, soft chichorá, mean thak'thakiyá, quarrelsome káiyáá, cunning ábag'khábag, uneven kir'kirá, stony, fine bhak'bhaká, resplendent thothá, empty alád balád, crooked cik'ná, greasy.

There are many such words for a foolish person.

Examples-

bhucca, lúlú, sallo, jhallá, thoth, bhakuá etc. Gui, thethu, a robber dhacar, an old man

Cf. Guj. thethu, a robber dhaddho, a stupid fellow

Punj. jhuddu, a man without

out dhattá, fat, overbearing spirit dhátá, stupid

etc.

Also compare with the above

Guj. tatár, stiff, straight jhánkhún, dull in colour

Beng. jhin'jhin, thin cin'cin, dim dhav'dhav, white

Punj. jhab, clean

khar'bar, loose phus'phás, light, flimsy kan'kan, biting cold dag'dage, fast red gat, steady cánjá, clever

etc.

It has been explained by Dr. R. Tagore in his Banglá Shabda Tattva that such words are transferred from the material objects. Even if one such object is found making this kind of sound that sound is taken and then generalized to signify all such objects. For instance, we know that a thin leaf makes a **jhin'jhin** sound. **jhiná** was, perhaps, used first to denote a thin leaf or a thin piece of tin. Specialization and generalization both helped to make this sound signify 'thin'. A trembling leaf is heard making the sound thar'thar, and thar'tharáná is generalised to mean 'to shake', although we may be trembling and not making such a sound at all.

There are quite a good number of words which are imitative of sounds in the material life now transferred to animal and human life. The relation between sound and meaning in these cases is tacit and shadowy. They may be said to contain only ten percent onomatopoetic value.

3. ii(f). States of Mind.

Lastly, in this order, there is a class of words in which onomatopoetic sense is more obscure. These words express feelings or notions in which sound is conjectured analogically. Sometimes we have a feeling which cannot be described in words at all. It makes an intense impression on our senses and obliges us to find a word with a sound. The excitement suggests a concrete picture in the material life. We feel an urge to imagine a sound in the feeling. Sometimes for want of an adequate word we utter an onomatopoetic word to express it.

Compare—

jhońk, a feeling cońc'lá, coquetry hik, bad smell dag'dagi, anxiety ghis'ghis, reluctance kasak, tis, an urge huk, pain mahak, good smell cun'cuni, itching etc.

Compare also-

Punj. dhaphar, rash
Beng. kar'kar, irritation

ghuk'na, to be famous

Mar. ghal'ghal'nen, to be weak ghegá, effort

kad'kadań, strictly kat'kat, pain

etc.

In some cases the abstract meaning has evolved from the concrete meaning. In those cases the onomatopoetic relationship is not farfetched.

Examples-

bharak, excitement jug'jugáná, to grow phus'láná, to dissuade jhenp'ná, to be ashamed jak, obstinacy

jhánk'ná, to peep kurhaná, to fret jhalláná, to be angry dhakká, a blow dhák, awe

etc.

Such words may be classed under 3. ii(e), above.

3. ii(g). Echo-words.

Echo-words are also imitative in nature. But they are not used

as independent words like the onomatopoeias. They imitate actual words as an echo and have an important semantic value. Dr. Tagore takes them as forms of repetition which subject we shall take up in the next chapter.

Examples-

H. aros paros, neighbourhood

and surroundings ultá sultá, upset

roți voți, bread etc.

Compare-

Punj. páņi púņi, water etc. puch guch, enquiry. dere ere, camp etc.

bhir bhar, large crowds etc.

ran kan, woman, children etc.

3. ii(h). Nursery Words.

Nursery words are also onomatopoetic words in so far as they are formed in imitation of the sounds of a child. Grown-up people imitate them from their children and give them a meaning which they imagine the child intends. Most of these words are expressive of domestic relations and objects in the nursery.

Examples-

cácá, uncle
ammá, mother
bibi, phupphi, aunt
dádi, grandmother
ájá, grandfather
lallá, brother
bobá, teats
memá, kid
koká, crow
jhúlhú, craddle

tát, abbá, father didi, sister

babbá, nanhá, child náni, maternal grandmother

náná, maternal grandfather cúci, milk, teat bá. water

bá, water kíká, horse chocho, lap puá, a cake

etc., etc.

Compare Punj. bebe, mother, L. bebe, sister, Eng. 'Baby'; lálá, in Punjabi father and in Lahndi 'brother'; Punj. gogo, tummy, cico, bird, gogá, bread; Guj. bábo, father, tátá, bread, tútú, dog, mám, food, kiki, girl, koká, kiss, gigo, boy, koko, a baby's jacket; Mar. áji, mother; Tur. báji, sister; H., P. mámá, uncle; Per. mammah, teats; Eng. Mamma, mother.

It may be noted that the relation between word and meaning

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in these cases is purely arbitrary, as it is in all forms of words. All sound is national and meaning is a question of usage in each language. Every language has its own system and so has Hindi.

3. ii(i). Learned Etymologies.

A recognition of this system is highly instructive. For want of this onomatopoetic sense, our lexicographers, phonologists and grammarians have made regrettable mistakes. The following are some of the erroneous etymologies from the Hindi Shabda Ságar which illustrate our ignorance of an important linguistic phenomenon in Hindi. These derivations are not only unscientific but mostly ridiculous.

Compare-

A recognition of the phonomenon of sound-symbolism is sure to explain most of our so-called irregular or obscure phonologies.

3. (iii). The Onomatopoetic Genius of Hindi.

3. iii(a). Quality and Meaning.

We have given the individual meanings of sounds at length. Those meanings are too evident and easily obtainable in the case of onomatopoetic words to need further explanation. The initial sound carries the central meaning. It is suggestive of soft and easy movements and sounds in soft letters. It is hard in hard ones. Most of the apparent onomatopoetic words begin with aspirates. Their force and clearness is usefully exploited. Of the unaspirated consonants [k] is most common. Many words either begin with or end with it. This is significant, too.

The initial quality of the sound is modified, extended and directed according to the nature of the distinctive meaning, by such sounds as -k, -c, -t, -p, -r, -r, -l, and -s.

Compare-

khar, and kharak, rattle khur, and khurac, scrape jhap, and jhapat, rush jhar, and jharap, fieriness tak, and takkar, shock dhap, and dhappar, slap jhul, and jhulas, singed thap, and thapak, pat kir, and kirac, a knife lap, and lapat, flame tar, and tarap, palpitation kúk, and kúkar, dog jháńjh, and jháńjhar, broken dhamá, and dhamás, threat.

Of these, extensions with -k and -r are comparatively common.

The distinction of meaning from the distinction of sound may be noted in the following groups.

Compare—

Initially
bhin'bhinana, humming of bees, and hin'hinana, braying of horse. Is bhinak'na, barking, and chinak'na, to fry. thacakhac, crowded, and ghacaghac, successive cuts of swords.

gur'guráná, sounding of the stomach, and kur'kuráná, to cluck. khisak'ná, to slip, and sisak'ná, to sob. thapak'ná, to pat, and jhapak'ná, to glitter. bul'bul, a nightingale, and gil'gil, a water bird.

khat'khatáná, to knock, and til'miláná, to stutter, and phat'phatana, to flutter. thomp'na, to thrust, and ghonp'na, to thrust in. chan'chan, sound of small bells, and tan'tan, sound of big bells.

bil'bilana, to cry. ihánk'ná, to peep, and phánk'ná, to chuck in. tap, of a horse, and thap, of a tabor. karak, of thunder, and bharak, of fire.

Extensionally

bhacak'na, to be perplexed, bharak'na, to be excited. ghońkh'ná, to read again and again, and

ghont'na, to pound.

ghusar'na, to get stuffed, and ghuras'na, to curl. chan'chan, sound of water on hot iron, and cham'cham, sound of showers. chat'na, to be pruned, and

char'na, to pound and husk. This specialization of meaning by sound is a strong proof of the nationalization of every language, the difficulty of translation being

3. iii(b). Suffixal Extensions.

Onomatopoetic words may be further extended by the use of various suffixes.

Examples-

another.

- ri in cic'ri, parasite pap'ri, layer

- iri in bhambhiri, a rainy insect

- árá in murárá, burning wood

- rá in sharkará, sugar

- ni in hanph'ni, inhaling

- tá in kar'karátá, intense

- in chucchi, a nose nail

- di in bhisaddi, a lazy fellow

- gá in bhun'gá, a worm

- dá in muraádá, a cake of

- tá in reág'tá, young of an

violently - lá in hak'lá, a stammerer

- ahará- in pharahará, a flag.

etc.

3. iii(c). Quantity of Sounds and Meaning.

The meaning of an onomatopoetic word is not only determined by the quality of the sounds constituting it, but it also depends on the quantity or number of the sounds. jhat shows that the action has shorter duration than in jhatak. dhap denotes that the object was not so heavy as in the case of dhapam. The following examples will elucidate the point further.

Compare-

phúń, sniff, phúńk, puff, and phúńkár, hissing. phat, crack, and phatak'ná, to winnow. dham, thump, and
dhamak, jerking noise.
kúk, shrick, and
kúkú, dove.
pharak, to throb, and
phar/pharáhat, struggle.

A single sound shows that the action is instantaneous and immediate. The reduplication suggests that that action has a longer duration or that it actually repeats itself.

Compare-

mac'ná, to stretch, and mac'macáná, to tremble.

kuliá, one mouthful, and kul'kulá, gargling. khatak'ná, to strike, and khat'khatáná, to knock. phur'ná, to throb, and phur'phuráná, to tremble. kat'ká, thunder, and kat'karáhat, rumbling. cham, splash, and cham'cham, heavy thúk'ná, to spit, and thuk'thukáná, to spit again and again.

kurak'ná, to crack, and
kur'kuráná, to grumble.
ghar'ná, to set, and
ghar'gharáná, to thunder.
phar, fast movement, and
phar'phar, fluently.
khil'ná, to bloom, and
khil'khiláná, to giggle.
dharak'ná, to beat, and
dhar'dhar, to beat with

showers. fury.

The continuity and fullness of action may be expressed by introducing a vowel between.

Examples-

jharájhar, lapálap, dharádhar, satásat, gatágat, etc.

Sometimes the consonant is repeated in immediate succession, showing intense perturbation and rapid activity.

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Examples-

bhabak, roar khakhor'ná, to scrape thatháná, to beat thathak, fear

phuph'kár, hissing cacor'ná, to suck dhadhak'ná, to blaze up thathak'ná, to stop

etc.

Thus the quantity of an imitative sound largely depends on the quantity of the original sound.

More examples-

ghugghú, ghúńgh'rú, jhajjhar, kú, kúk, kúkar,

ctc.

3. iii(d). Echoic Reduplication.

At times the reduplicated sound is slightly different. This is due to two different movements and two varied sounds of the object itself. Suppose in one movement a light suggests **jhil**, in the reverse movement it is **mil**. The word **jhil'mil** suggests that there is sudden change in the action, as we generally see in a flash which is a succession of bright and dim light. [m] or [p] is generally used to suggest this varied repetition.

Compare-

khat'pat, wrangling
kic'kic, nonsense
cat'pat, at once
chat'pati, perturbation
dag'mag, fickle
kal'bal, noise
khal'bhal, tumult
ghic'pic, crowdedness
jag'mag, shining
tum'tatak, show
kul'bulana, to creep about

hacar'macar, thinking
saṭar'paṭar, trifles
cak'mak, a flint
jhal'mal, dusk
jhuṭ'puṭá, dusk
ainḍ bainḍ, crooked
khad'badaná, to make a
boiling noise

kacar'pacar, chewing talámali, anxiety

in groups,
Also see the next Chapter.

3. iii(e). Synonymous Onomatopoeia.

There are some words now used as synonyms.

Examples-

dahak'ná, dhadhak'ná,

bhannáná, bar'baráná

bharak'na

phatak'ná, bidak'ná,

ghap'la, gar'bar

bharak'ná

ak'ná

dánt, ghur'ki, phat'kár kik, cikh ghigghi, bil'bilahat, hic'ki, jhijhak'na, camhk'na, chanak'na

cikka, bak'ri tamáńcá, thappar, capat jhak'ná, bak'ná

We shall speak of synonyms in general in a later chapter. Here it may be said that our fundamental assumption that every sound has a definite, constant and specific meaning implies that forms phonemically different must have different meanings. Synonyms are due to the vague knowledge of certain people and their inability to appreciate and express the exact significance of these words.





EVOLUTION OF MEANING

1. INTRODUCTORY

1. Introductory.

A comparative study of the Sanskrit and Hindi vocabularies reveals a number of interesting facts as regards words and their meanings. Sanskrit literature, as we actually possess, is miserably poor in common, everyday, colloquial vocabulary. It contains more of religious and philosophic terms and phrases than popular words and usages. On account of changed conditions these terms were either gradually forgotten or used in senses other than their own. Of the non-tatsama element in Hindi hardly fifteen percent can be traced to the classical Sanskrit. In the absence of any data about the spoken old Indo-Aryan, it is difficult to say how much of that element has been retained by Hindi. The Hindi vocabulary is inherently and very largely Indo-Aryan, yet it is certainly richer in expression than Sanskrit, as most modern languages are. This is due to a number of historical circumstances and important tendencies in the language. Old Hindi began with its Prakritic inheritance which was about 80 percent tadbhavas (including a few tatsamas and semi tatsamas, of course), 18 percent Deshi and unexplained and only

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about 2 percent foreign element. Since then Hindi has borrowed quite a large number of words from foreign languages. It has also taken loans from provincial literatures; and learning is, to a great extent, responsible for the revival of tatsama words, some of which have also come via Bengali, Gujrati and Marathi. Larger still is the number of new coins.

When a new object, feeling or conception thrusts itself into notice, we take recourse to three linguistic agencies. We may borrow from another language words which can express that object or idea, as—

from English,

moțar, motor rediyo, radio
jaj, judge palțan, platoon
lát, lord isțám, stamp
rang'rut, recruit etc.

from Portugese (via Bengal and Bombay),

tamliyá, towel pistanl, pistol santará, orange phítá, tape salmári, shelf bálti, bucket

mej, table etc.

from Turkish,

cáků, knife kurkí, distraint

sal'var, trousers

from Persian,

samosá, a salt pastry par'dá, screen, veil

garib, poor etc.

from Marathi,

ghatátop, cloudy bájú, side

lágú, applicable etc.

Secondly, we may frequently extend the meaning of the existing words or even borrowed words to express new ideas and feelings. Compare—

upanyás, statement (in Sanskrit) and a novel (in Hindi).

Skt. shakuna, originally a bird > omen > good omen.

váțiká, an orchard, > bári, a house (in Bengali), a street (in Gujrati), a field (in Hindi).

Tur. urdú, originally a camp, > the language of the camp > the Persianized Hindustani language. Ar. maqsha, a painted thing, now means 'a map'.

Per. barfa, snow, is also used for 'ice'.

Eng. 'orderly', originally street-cleaner, means 'attendant' or 'peon' in Hindi.

We shall discuss this aspect of the evolution of meaning in chapters V and VI.

Thirdly, we may coin a new word suggested by the sound or by some prominent feature of the object or by associating the new idea with the existing stock of our ideas and their related words. It is here that sound symbolism manifests itself most vividly. We designate the motor cycle phar/phará (phat/phativá, in Calcutta Hindi) on account of its sound, the U-boat pan/dubbi on account of its function, the sunflower saraj/mukhi on account of the similarity of its appearance with the sun, the 'touch-me-not' chui mui on account of its conduct, the penis landa, as it keeps sporting or dangling (cf. lad, to dally, lari, a chain, lád, caress, sport), nikammá, worthless, (from Skt. nis, without, karman, work, use), sharmilá, shy, (from Per. sharma, shyness) etc. But it has to be observed that we have not created any words. We have given new combinations or affixal forms to old ones. It is a very hard job to coin a really new word.

Thus, we find how our expressions increase and meanings evolve. The evolution of meaning is a very important and useful process in language. If we were to have a word for every single object, act or quality, our memory would collapse under the burden. Elasticity of meaning makes our words handy and enhances their practical value. The evolution of meaning, running with the extension of a word, greatly helps our memory and excites our imagination. It is certainly more easy and enjoyable to learn pind, a lump, pind, body, pind'ri, calf of the leg, pinna, a cake of mustard, pinni, a kind of sweetmeat, pindin, a kind of root, pindi, a mass of sand, and pinda, oblations, than to be required to learn eight different words with different sounds and derived from different roots.

The form of semantic evolution which consists in the change of meaning without affecting the word itself will be discussed in the following chapters. Here we are concerned with the extension of meaning effected by extensional sounds or formative elements including prefixes, suffixes, infixes and enclitic particles.

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2. PREFIXAL EXTENSIONS

- (i) PREFIXES IN HINDI.
- (ii) PREFIXES IN SANSKRIT.

ORIGINAL MEANINGS — STANDARDIZATION — SPECIALIZATION — CONCRETION — OTHER TRANSFERENCES

- (iii) PREFIXES AS ELEMENTS OF COMPOUNDS.
- (iv) Persian and Perso-Arabic Prefixes in Hindi.
- (v) Useful Semantic Device.

2. i. Prefixes in Hindi.

It is unfortunate that Hindi is miserably poor in its stock of prefixes. Those it has inherited from Sanskrit occur only in a few thh. words, and only a couple of them are slightly prolific. Hindi does not commonly use them for word-formation,

a-, privative, in-

ațal, unavoidable aber, delay aján, uninitiated alag, not attached

etc.

etc.

an-, privative, in-

an'ban, discord an'parh, illiterate an'garh, unwrought an'mol, priceless an'ján, ignorant an'ginat, innumerable

m., < ava., pejorative, in-

augun, fault andasá, misfortune anghat, unapproachable aus'ná, to become rusty.

ka-, ku-, < ká-, ku-, pejorative, in-

kapút, a bad son kucailá, dressed in dirty

kucál, misconduct ty kuráh, bad way clothes kuját, bastard.

Compare Beng. kukacchá, scandal, (Perso-Arabic 'qissah').

du- < duh-, pejorative, indub'lá, weak

ni-, privative, in-

nikammá, worthless nigorá, wretch nidar, fearless nihatthá, armless

etc.

Compare Beng, nibhul, faultless, ninav, one without a boat.

s-, su- < su-, ameliorative, in-

sapút, a good son sapát, smooth sudani. well-formed.

sacet. careful sughar, expert

Compare Beng. sathik, correct, su'khabar, good news.

2. ii. Prefixes in Sanskrit.

Sanskrit fully realized the importance of prefixes. Note how it has enlarged its vocabulary and semantic region by prefixing meaningful formatives to stems. In Hindi such words have been inherited as full semantemes, with the restricted meaning as it had finally developed in Sanskrit. They are taken as single articulated words (ekoccarita).

The various meanings of these prefixes have been given in several books on Indian grammar (vide Macdonell: Sanskrit Grammar; Kale: Higher Sanskrit Grammar; Hoernle: Gaudian Grammar: Greaves: Hindi Grammar: Kellogg: Hindi Grammar: Kamata Prasad Guru: Hindi Vyakarana). But they have been arranged either historically or formally and not semantically. No scholar has yet systematically traced the evolution of meaning in them. We leave it to the students of Indo-European Sematology to trace and substantiate their original meanings. We have noted that every suffix had but one prepositional meaning. Other meanings have gradually evolved out of it.

ORIGINAL MEANINGS. The original prepositional meanings are still evident in the following-

adhiráia, overlord abhimukha, facing uddhára, uplift apaharana, carrying away upapura, suburb nivukta, fixed in parikramá, roaming about parávartana, turning back pratikula, contrary, opposite samagama, coming together.

atyanta, beyond a limit anugámi, follower avajáyá, disregard ámarana, till death durmati, silly, ignorant mirdosa, without fault prasára, moving onward. expansion

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STANDARDIZATION. In some cases the prefix rendered the phrase so vague that the meaning had to be materialized until it signified a definite idea. Compare the literal and the evolved meanings in the following—

unnati, (bending or growing out), progress.

anurodha, (blocking up, pressing), request.

apakára, (an act far from being called a deed), evil.

aparádha, (an act far from being pleasing), offence, crime.

pratikára, (a deed done against another), revenge.

prakṣepa, (throwing forward or into), interpolation.

avasthá, (staying down), station, condition.

pariṇáma, (tossing about), change, effect.

sandeha, (heaping together), confusion, doubt, etc.

SPECIALIZATION. Standardization of an idea has often necessitated specialization in a certain direction. It has gathered a still more definite idea in its evolution. Thus—

atyukti, (lit. a saying beyond) means 'a saying beyond truth', 'exaggeration'.

uccáraņa, (lit. raising up), raising up of the voice, pronunciation.

anvartha, (the meaning after), the meaning after the word,
literal meaning.

apakarea, (lit. drawing away), drawing away from the normal, deterioration.

upadesha, (showing near), showing near to a right place, advice.
parikara, (a hand about), a hand about the waist, etc.

In some cases there has been extreme restriction, as-

anuváda, (lit. speaking after), translation, (the word 'paraphrase' also means 'speaking after').

anusvára, (a sound uttered after a vowel), a nasal. avatára, (coming down), descent of a deity.

CONCRETION. The abstract idea formed by such formations has been often concreted in sense. In fact, concretion is another effect of standardization.

Examples-

udáharaņa, (carrying up), carrying up of voice, narration, example. nibandha, (binding down), a thesis.
santána, (lit. stretching along), children.
áhára, (carrying towards), carrying towards the mouth, food.
upahára, (bringing near), offering, gift. (cf. bhenta, meeting,
gift).
pradhána, (placed forward), a man placed forward, chief.

OTHER TRANSFERENCES. The meaning may be transferred to any related ideas in certain cases.

Compare-

utkańthá, (raising up of the neck, as in expectation),
expectation.
áshrama, (towards rest), going towards rest, resting place.
sandhi, (putting together), peace.

2. iii. Prefixes as Elements of Compounds.

Besides these there are adverbial and adjectival prefixes which occur as elements of compounds. Strictly speaking we should not include among prefixes or suffixes any words which can be used or even understood as independent meaningful words in any language. The following, for instance, are clearly full words in Kamata Prasad's list—

Skt. punar, (again) as in punarjanma, rebirth.
prátar, (morning) as in prátahkála, morning time.
bahir, (outside) as in bahiskára, boycott.
svayam, (self), as in svayamvara, chosing a husband oneself.
náná, (various), as in nánárúpa, various forms.
cira, (long time), as in ciranjiva, longlived.

H. bin, (without), as in bin'jan, without knowing. bhar, (full), as in bhar'pet, belly-ful.

Per. kam (little), as in kam-umra, of a low age. khush, (good), as in khush'bú, good smell. fi (each), fi ád'mi, per man. har (each), har'roz, daily.

The following in Greaves's list may also be noted— Skt. alpa (small), as in alpajáya, one who knows little. anya (other), as in anyadesha, other country.

Prefix is just a particle or a syllable which is meaningful but dependent on the stem, and which modifies the meaning of the stem and forms with it a new word, a single derivative.

Some of the qualificative prefixes of ancillary type have assumed the real nature of a particle. But their use is restricted to a few words revived in Hindi from Sanskrit.

Compare-

tiras (orig. crookedly) in tiraskár, contempt. puras (orig. in front) in puraskar, present, purchit, priest. purá (orig. before) in purátan, of former times. ávir (orig. out) in ávirbháv, appearance, áviskár, invention. prádur (orig. appearing) in prádurbháv, appearance. amá (orig. near) in amávasyá, new moon night. s-, sah- (with) in saparivar, with family, sah'pathi, class-

fellow.

prák (first) in prákkathan, foreword, práktan, first.

Of the qualificative prefixes, adhas, as in adhahpatan, downfall, adhogati, decline, and antar-, as in antarang. inner, antarrástriya, international, etc. are most widely used.

2. iv. Persian and Perso-Arabic Prefixes.

Generally, prefixes of Persian and Perso-Arabic origin are used in loan words from Persian and Arabic. A few of them form useful hybrids.

Examples-

kam (little) in-

kam'samajh, having little knowledge

gair (other than) in-

gair'sar'kari, non-official

be (without) in-

bekám, uscless

besur, tuneless betar, wireless

kam'dam, luw-priced.

gair'hindu, non-Hindu.

bejor, matchless besamajh, ignorant bedhanga, methodless

etc.

Compare-

Beng. behat, out of reach

becal evil ways.

2. v. Useful Semantic Device.

It must be confessed that in this age of science and philosophy. the crude and unproductive Hindi as well as Persian prefixes have no future, especially in literary language. We have recently discovered the semantic richness of Sanskrit prefixes and used them with great advantage. Note how Sanskrit has increased its lexical wealth. Only one root kr has given apakára, disservice, anúkára, imitation, ákára, form, áviskára, invention, adhikára, right, tiraskára, reproach, prakára, variety, pratikára, requittal, prákára, fence, puraskára, prize, vikára, deformity, satkára, honour, namaskára, greetings, sáksátkára, visit, svíkára, acknowledgement, etc. Numerous are the words formed from each of the stems, nominal as well as verbal. Prefixal extensions of the roots bhu, to be, man, to think, ni, to take, i, to go, stha, to stay, dhá, to place, car, to go, grh, to take, gam, to go, áp, to obtain, vad, to speak, may be especially studied for a clear junderstanding of the nature of Sanskrit prefixes. A study of the vocabularies coined by the Ministry of Education, Government of India, or by scholars in various fields of education, industry, culture, and science will convince us of the growing semantic importance of prefixes in Hindi. Almost all new terms from European languages are being formed with the help of prefixes, especially when an extension of an existing sense and a shade is desired.

Compare-

escape, vipaláyan

habitation, vás
residence, nivás
abode, ávás
cancellation, vilopan
obliteration, abhilopan
abscond, ap'paláyan
domicile, adhivás
lodging, sanvás
expunction, ap'lopan
expunction, ap'lopan
elope, sah'paláyan

Compare also sandesh, message, up'desh, advice, nidesh, instruction, nirdesh, direction, pradesh, region, ádesh, order, adhyádesh, ordinance, samup'desh, couns l; niyam, principle, viniyam, regulation, pariniyam, statute; khaṇḍan, break, vikhaṇḍan, revoke, abhikhaṇḍan, quash, ap'khaṇḍan, rescind; vardhan, increase, vivardhan, afforce, ávardhan, augment, parivardhan, enlarge; etc., etc.

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3. SUFFIXAL EXTENSIONS

- (i) ANALYSIS BY INDIAN GRAMMARIANS.
- (ii) Suffixes forming nouns.

Nouns of Agency — Nouns of Possession — Abstract Nouns — Collective Nouns — Nouns of Instrument — Nouns of Place — Nouns Denoting Relationship — Nouns Denoting Diminution and Deformity.

- (iii) SUFFIXES FORMING ADJECTIVES.
- (iv) SUFFIXES FORMING ADVERBS.
- (v) Synonymous and Polysemantic Suffixes.
- (vi) REMARKS.

3. i. Analysis by Indian Grammarians.*

Following Sanskrit, our present-day Grammarians have worked out the divisions and sub-divisions of suffixes in Hindi. They classify them into two main groups: First, those which are added to verbal bases, and secondly those which have a substantive as a base. This, of course, is only the formal aspect of the suffixes. A rough analysis of their meaning has to be attempted.

Beams (in "A comparative Grammar of Modern Aryan Languages of India," vol. II) gives a better account of these formatives. Dr. S. K. Chatterji's treatment of Bengali suffixes in his ODBL, Vol. II, is semantically still more important. But the analysis of the meaning of suffixes needs a further improvement. Generally, they make nouns of agency or occupation, abstract nouns, nouns of instrument, adjectives and participles. Nominal suffixes also form genitonymics and diminutives.

We shall see that each one of them gives a meaning which is not available in either any full word or any other form-word. Some suffixes do present similar problems as synonymous or polysemantic words, which will be treated in the next two chapters, but it is possible to distinguish shades of meanings in all such suffixes.

We shall take only those suffixes which are commonly used in Hindi word-building, in order to show the semantic method of analysis. The same can be extended to Sanskrit suffixes.

^{*}Vide Macdonell, Kale, and K mata Prasad Guru and also 'Siddhanta Kaumudi'.

NOUNS OF AGENCY. -a, -alt, -iyá, -alyá, -ár (-er) etc. may be taken as really agentive suffixes. Of these

(a) - a makes agents of a habitual characteristic, as in—
jotá, ploughman, (jot'ná, to plough).
ucakká, robber, (ucak'ná, to pounce at).
(ghur) carhá, rider, (carh'ná, to ride).
(bar) bolá, talkative, (bol'ná, to talk).
(kath) phorá, wood-pecker, (phor'ná, to break).

The same meaning is added by Skt. -akah > H. -a, as in-

gáyakah, a singer nartakah, a dancer

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lekhakah, a scribe náyakah, a leader.

- (b) -ák, -ańkú, -áká, -ákú, which are dialectical variations of the same suffix, are compound suffixes (á + k, á + ká or á + k + ú) and add the idea of long practice to the agentive sense. In fact they are adjectives substantivized. They are still used both as adjectives and nouns. Compare urák, urańkú, uráká, urákú, one who flies, S. girákú, receiver, (giraņu, to take, to devour), piákú, a drinker.
- (c) -akkar in bhulakkar, forgetful, kudakkar, playful, is also a compound suffix (4 + k + r) and adds a pejorative sense to the adjectives which when substantivized come to denote agency.
 - (d) -ú is a pejorative suffix, as in—
 raţţú, an unintelligent reader, (raţ'ná, to repeat),
 ujáţú, a spend-thrift, a spoiler, (ujáţ'ná, to lay waste),
 phus'láú, a seducer, (phus'láná, to entice),
 ghoţú, roter, (ghoṭ'ná, to pound).

Compare S. tárů, swimmer, penů, beggar, rahů, dweller.

-uyá, is a further extension of this suffix in Beng. tekuyá, skewer, dákuyá, postman, and H. machuá, fisherman, etc.

H., Punj. bharuá, pimp.

(e) -alt means 'one skilled in', as in—
lathait, one skilled in club-fighting, (láthí, a stick, a club).
bar'chait, a spearman, (bar'chí, spear).
bhalait, a lancer, (bhálá, a lance).
daágait, fighter, (daágá, quarrel).
dakait, dacoit, (dáká, robbery).
patait, fencer, (patá, cudgel).

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(f) -iya shows professional agency, as injariyá, a jeweller, (jar'ná, to set). dhunivá, a carder, (dhun'ná, to card cotton). lakhiya, a telltale, (lakh'na, to watch).

Mar. ghodakvá, a groom, kávadvá, a porter. Guj. nisháliyo, a scholar.

S. othia, camel-driver.

(g) -alya makes a general 'doer', as inbacaivá, one who saves, kataivá, a cutter, gavaivá, a singer.

(h) -ar (skt. -karah), as in-

sunár, goldsmith, lohár, blacksmith, camár, shoemaker;

and its extensions -ará and -árí in-

banijárá, hawker, ghasiyárá, a grass-cutter, bhikhárí, a beggar, kothári, a store-keeper;

and the dialectical form -era (from the same Skt. suffix -karah), in-

kamerá, a porter, luterá, a robber, kaserá, a brazier, sanpera, a snake charmer; are used to denote low professions.

NOUNS OF POSSESSION. (a) -i in tell, oilman, ori, a basketmaker, and its dialectical form -iyá in árhatiyá, commission agent, mukhiya, headman, show 'possession'. Compare Skt. -i (-in), which has the same meaning in dosi, one having a fault, shastri, learned, danti, elephant, one having tusks, krodhi, one who is langry, dhani, a rich man. Compare S. othi, camelman, Punj. machi, fisherman.

(b) The suffix -vala, which should be taken as a full word, originally meant 'one who takes care' (Skt. pálakah) as in kot'vál, a police officer, < kot'pálakah, fort keeper, gválá, a cowherd, < go'pálakah, cow-keeper. Compare gválá, cowherd and ganválá, cowmaster. Compare Eng. 'keeper' in 'shopkeeper', H. dukan'vala, or Per. -dar, keeper, in dukan'dar. The meaning 'master' or 'possessor' as in ganválá, commaster, kothiválá, housemaster, topiválá, one wearing a cap, has evolved from 'keeper'.

ABSTRACT NOUNS. The suffixes forming abstract nouns may form names of actions, attributes, state or condition. They can be

further divided according to the actual force of their meaning.

(a) -n and -ná (< Skt. -ana as in maraņa, dying, death, or cumbana, kissing) denote the performance or happening of an action, as in (i) mángan, asking, milan, meeting, len, taking, den, giving, len-den, dealing, and (ii) lená, to take, taking, jáná, to go, going, kar'ná, to do, doing, etc. A semantic distinction is, however, evolving. The words with -n are used to signify a state or gerundial idea. Some have also become concrete nouns, as H. lagán, a tax, pisán, flour, Skt. shravaṇa, ear, caraṇa, foot. Nouns with -ná, on the other hand, are infinitives used substantively. Compare Punj. dekh'ná, looking, L. vekhaṇ, seeing.

(b) -i denotes the state of an action, as in hańsi, laughter, joke, boli, speech, kar'ni, deed. Compare Punj. rah'ni, condition of

living, bah'ni, the condition of sitting, conduct.

(c) i or i denotes the quality of an attribute, as in thandis, coldness (concreted to mean a cold drink), catural, cleverness, sar'di, cold, gar'mi, heat. Compare Punj. cangial, goodness.

(d) -ávat or -áhat describes the state of an action with transitive force, as in milávat, mixture, (miláná, to mix), sajávat, decoration, (sajáná, to adorn), ghab'ráhat, perturbance, (ghab'ráná, to confuse). Compare Mar. nánd'vat, state of being settled in a place, (nánd'neń, to dwell).

(e) -ás is derived from the desiderative form in Sanskrit and means 'desire for a thing', as in pyás, desire to drink, thirst, roás, desire to weep, vexation, hagás, desire to stool, úńghás, incipient sleep, mithás, sweetness, jhapás, a violent burst of rain (the meaning being concreted). Compare Guj. dholás, whiteness, kath'nás, difficulty.

(f) -p in H. miláp, union, Punj. syánap, wisdom; -ápá in H. burhápá, old age, rańdápá, widowhood, motápá, fatness, and -pan in barappan, greatness, larak'pan, boyhoo!. Punj. -puná in luc'puná, debauchery, múrakh'puná, foolishness, (all related to skt. -tvanam or -tva > Pkt. -ppan, -pp > -pan, -p, -pá) are of different chronological stages, and are originally used to denote the state of a quality. Compare barái, the quality of being great, barappan, the state of being great.

 (g) -t and its extension -ti denote attributive nonns as in bacat, saving, khapat, consumption, lágat, cost, bagh'ti, increase, ghat'ti,

decrease.

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Compare S. halati, behaviour, (hal'nun, to go).

(h) -ává, which has come from the causal form in Sanskrit, denotes causation in an action, as in barhává, encouragement, (barháná, to increase), carhává, offering, (carháná, to raise). So also -áv in bacáv, safety, baháv, flow, carháv, rise, ascent. Compare Guj. macáv, a quarrel, Punj. par'cává, amusement, something to amuse.

collective nouns. -k and its extension -ká signify a thing containing a collection of so many, as in cank, square, crossing, ikká, a pony vehicle, dukká, two of cards, canká, the set of four front teeth.

-ladds an idea of diminution to collection, as in bisi, a score, battisi, the denture, paccisi, a collection of 25 (say, stories).

NOUNS OF INSTRUMENT. In Hindi there is no special suffix to denote instrument. Some abstract and agentive nouns formed by certain suffixes have been concreted and semantically evolved to denote instrumentality. In fact, there is little difference between an agent and an instrument.

- (a) n in jháran, duster, belan, a roller, chájan, a cover, joran, runnet. It is further extended by -á (a suffix of biggishness) in orh'ná, a mantle, bel'ná, a rolling pin, ghot'ná, a rubber, kut'ná, a stick, and by -í (a diminutive suffix) in katar'ní, scissors, chán'ní, a sieve, orh'ní, a covering, dhauńk'ní, a bellow, phuk'ní, a blow pipe, lekh'ní, a pen, cús'ní, a sucking stick for children. Compare Punj. simar'ná, rosary to help prayers, phúk'ní, a blow-pipe, pach'ní, an incising instrument, and L. kudh'ná, poker.
- (b) In jhárú, a broom, (jháríná, to dust), and cappú, oar, ú originally denotes pejoration or deformity. The idea of instrument is a later development.
- (c) -á (originally used to make agentive nouns) has been transferred in jhúlá, a swing, thelá, a trolly (a push). phánsá, a noose.

 -i is a sign of dimunition in reti, a file, gánsi, a hook, cim'ti, pincers (cim'tá), the instrumental sense having been derived from -á.

NOUNS OF PLACE. (a) -n or -ná, used with verbs, denotes the place where that actions takes place, as in dharan, womb, (dhar'ná, to place), jhar'ná, a spring, (jhar'ná, to ooze), ras'ná,

tongue (ras, taste), pál'ná, a cradle, (pál'ná, to bring up). It is derived from the instrumental -ná noted above.

(b) -áná (< Skt. genitive termination -ánám) refers to a province or part of the country by ellipsis, as in ráj'pútáná, Rajputana < Skt. raj'putránám (deshah), ahiráná, a locality of cowmen.

Compare also **gond'váná**, Gondwana, **bhotán**, Bhotan, **irán**, Iran, the land of Aryans, **ludhyáná**, (Ludhiana, a city in the Punjab), a place of the Lodhis.

- (c) -árá and -árí (< Skt. vátiká, court) mean 'side', as in pich'várá, the back vicinity, agárí, front portion, pichárí, back side.
- (d) -k in balthak, a sitting room, phátak, kine-house, cank, the crossing of roads, also relates to 'place', so also sarak, a road, (a place to walk; Compare sarak'ná, to move).

-ká in máy'ká, house of the mother, is a sporadic suffix. Compare Punj. peká, father's house, nán'ká, house of the grand father, and L. ajoká, of today, ratoká, of last night, etc.

(c) -mtá (< Skt. pátrakah, vessel) is clear. It means a receptacle as in kathantá, a wooden vessel, kaj rantá, a case for keeping collyrium.

NOUNS DENOTING RELATIONSHIP. Besides the suffixes that denote relationship with a place or instrument, there are suffixes signifying relationship with property or person.

(a) -anti refers to property, as in bapanti, patrimony, burhanti,

the savings for old age.

(b) -i and -el refer to ornaments, as in anguthi, ring, and nakel, nak + kil, a cavesson. In fact the one is an adjective substantivized and the other is a compound.

- (c) i generally denotes the female sex as in Iar'ki, girl, (Iar'ki, boy, bráhmani, a Brahmana woman, cáci, aunt, (cácá, uncle). It is a common and well known suffix in NIA.
- (d) -iyá, as Sanskrit -iká, denotes the female sex with a pejorative idea as in cuhiyá, a mouse, kutiyá, a bitch, bandariyá, shemonkey, burhiyá, an old woman.
- (e) The following with their extensional suffixes denote 'wife'—
 -n in dhoban, the wife of a washerman, and the more common form
 -in in bághin, tigress, luhárin, a blacksmith's wife, sunárin, a
 goldsmith's wife; and -ání in sethání, Seth's wife, dev'rání, the wife

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of a husband's younger brother.

-ní is applied to animals as in mor'ní, pea-hen, únt'ní, she-camel, rích'ní, she-bear, etc,

They are quite common in Modern Indo-Aryan languages. It is possible that these varieties are due to mixtures from various dialects.

- (f) -já means 'son of', as in bhatíjá, brother's son, bhán'já, sister's son.
- (g) -otá (with its phonological variations -otá and -olá) is a pejorative suffix and denotes 'young one', particularly of an animal, as in bilotá, a kitten, (Punj. bilotá, a kitten), hir'nautá, the young of a decr.

This suffix is more common in Lahndi and Punjabi. Compare bak'rotá, a kid, barotá, a young tree, jhotá, young of a buffalo, kac'rotá, a young mule, etc. H. saápolá, the young snake, appears to be a later form.

(h) -erá means 'cousin from the side of ' as in kakerá, son of an uncle, cacerá, uncle's son, mamerá, maternal uncle's son; Punj. maser, son of mother's sister (mási), phupher, son of father's sister.

NOUNS DENOTING DIMINUTION AND DEFORMITY. Of the diminutive suffixes, a distinction of meaning may be attempted.

- (a) It is an interesting phenomenon in Hindi Semantics that suffixes for feminine, and 'young one', also denote smallness, as a matter of fact. Note i and its older form -iyá in goli, bullet, (golá, bombshell), pahári, hill, (pahár, mountain), lutiyá, a small jug, khaṭiyá, a small bedstead, etc., -ṭá and its dialectical or phonological forms -ṛá, -rá and -lá in roṅg'ṭá, hair of the body, ṭuk'ṛá, a piece, ṭaṅg'ṛi, a short leg, hiy'rá, the little heart, maṅjh'lá, the middle one. Compare S. paṅdh'ṛo, short journey, haṭido, small shop; Mar. ciádh'ḍi, a poor rag; Guj. vairág'ḍo, a rascally sham hermit, Punj. bak'roṭá, a kid, dom'ṛá, a vagabond Dom. A sense of coarseness and deformity is clear in the latter class.
- (b) -ú and -uá show inferiority or contempt, as in dabbú, timid, petú, a glutton, bachuá, a young calf, tahaluá, a servant. Compare Punj. darú, timid, L. sirándú, a pillow (H. siríháná).

-olá in sanpolá, a young snake, khatolá, a cradle, gharolá, a small jar, nandolá, a small carthen vessel, etc. is a double suffix, i.e. -á and -l.

Compare L. patoh'la, a toy cloth, junia, small vermicelli.

(c) -k and -ká and the double diminutive -kí (k + i) are common suffixes denoting diminution in general. Compare dholak, a small drum, thandak, mild cold, kan'ki, small particles. Compare also L., Punj., gitak, fruit stone, kanjak, girl, (skt. kanyaká), játak, a boy, L. cic'ká, a small cake of soap, lur'ká, an car-drop, Punj., H. jhum'ká, ear-drop, phir'ki, shuttle; L. lauh'ká, H., Punj. hal'ká, light, < Skt. laghukah.

-c and -ci are dialectical forms of -k and -ki, and it appears that sandth'ci, a small box, and mulam'ci, gilder, in Hindi have been

borrowed from same dialect.

(d) -má in bhut'ná, a small devil, is a sporadic suffix and it is difficult to say what it was intended to mean, so also -aágar, in bataágar.

(e) Some of the diminutive suffixes also denote diseases.

Compare—

-rá in mak'rá, a nasal boil.

-lá in thanelá, pain in the teats.

-ivá in gathiyá, rheumatism, (gánth, joint), hal'diyá, jaundice.

- (f) Terms of diminution are also terms of endearment; compare báńk'rá, fine, shańk'rá, Shankar, hariyá, Hari, bhayyá, brother, bitiyá, girl (betí), jaggú, a name. Compare Guj. báy'rí, a wife (báí, woman), bháido, husband (bháí, man).
- (g) -á is a common suffix used to show biggishness as against the diminutive -á; cf. cim'tá, pincers, lak'rá, a big log of wood, ghará, a big watch. In jocose mood we commonly use -á to denote biggishness; mejá, a very big table (mej), davátá, a big inkpot, etc.

(h) -etá shows deformity and pejoration as in bráhmanetá, a sham Brahmana. Compare the word hetá, inferior.

3. iii. Suffixes forming Adjectives.

The number of suffixes that form adjectives in Hindi is quite large. A brief evaluation of their meaning is given below-

(i) Primary suffixes, used with verbs, are, perhaps, most productive.

(a) -tá is used to form present participles, and -á to make past participles, as átá, coming, kar'tá, doing; áyá, come, kiyá, done, kháyá, caten.

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- (b) -á (or -áú with causal forms) denotes a disposition with a sense of inferiority, as in kháú, one who cats away, becú, one who sells his property, tikáú, one that must stay. Compare L. viájáú, extravagant (viájávaņ, to lose), lutáú, squanderer, etc.
- (c) -iyal is a highly pejorative suffix, as in ariyal, obstinate, sariyal, peevish, mariyal, extremely weak, < (mar'ná, to die).
- (d) -orá < (ú + rá) is a double pejorative, as in catorá, one who is fond of dainties, hańsorá, a joker, bhagorá, a runaway; compare also thorá, little, < Skt. stoka, and Puni, saurá, narrow.
- (e) -ná is a gerundial suffix which has come to mean "accustomed to", as in roná, one who is always found weeping, lad'ná, a beast of burden, lar'ná, quarrelsome, hańs'ná, merry-maker. Compare Punj. mar'jáná, deserving to die (an abuse).
- (f) -válá, used attributively means 'about to', as in jáneválá, about to go, kháneválá, about to eat, etc. It is very common in NIA.

-hár is a dialectical word meaning -válá, as in hon'hár, that is about to happen (fate), devan'hár, ready to give, etc.

- (g) -váń shows continuity or repetition of an action, as in dhal'váń, slope, lit. that goes on descending, cun'váń, selected. Compare L. ucáváń, that can be removed.
- (ii) Besides these suffixes forming verbal adjectives, we have suffixes that make substantive adjectives.
- (a) -oń shows 'totality' or 'multitude', as in cároń, all the four, donoń, both, saik'roń, hundreds, lákhoń, millions.
- (b) -rá (-lá) in pah'lá, first, ag'lá, next, tis'rá third; -thá in cunthá, fourth, chathá, sixth; and more commonly -ván in pánc'ván, (Punj. panj'ván, besides, panj'mán), fifth, bis'ván, twentieth, denote 'order'.
- -lá (-rá) is also used to make adjectives of quality, as in kańg'lá, decrepit, láḍ'lá, darling, dhuṅdh'lá, foggy, báv'lá, mad, lit. one affected by wind. Also sæ (e) and (f) below. Compare Skt. shitala, cool, mańsala, fleshy; Punj. daṅd'lá, having (big) teeth, par'lá, the farther one; L. navek'lá, sæparate, les'lá, pasty, also Punj. vakh'rá, separate, and L. saj'rá, fresh.
- (c) -hará denotes folds, as in ikah'rá, single, duh'rá, twofold, tih'rá, threefold, (cf. Punj. dohar, double share). The same meaning is intended in sunah'rá, (having the folds of gold), golden,

rapah'ra, (having the folds of silver), silvery.

(d) -ú, as in diminutives and verbal adjectives, is used in bad'sense, as petú, gluttonous, nakkú, over-respectable, bájárú, colloquial, etc.

(e) -41 denotes good sense in day41, merciful, lathiy41, a body-guard, lit. one with a stick, darhiy41, an old man, one with a beard, etc.

-ár in dudhár, milk-giving (cattle) and gańvár, rustic, is also a form of this suffix. -á adds a pejorative sense in jhag'rálú, quarrelsome, lajálú, shy, ḍarálú, timid.

Compare Mar. mam'tálú, selfish, S. sindhál, burglarious, Punj. divál, ready to give.

- (f) -ilá, -el, -elá, -allá, (as Skt. -ila) denote 'full of', as in panilá, wet, gathilá, muscular, jah'rilá, poisonous, khap'rall, tiled, dantall, having big teeth, dantelá, having big tusks, banallá, wild, muchallá, having big moustache. Compare Punj. thakailá, casily fatigued, S. camelo, leathern, cánvelo, shady.
- (g) -á is a general suffix to make adjectives of quality, as bhákhá, hungry, thańdhá, cold, pyárá, dear, khárá, saltish. Many examples of word-formation with the help of this suffix are available in Hindi and some other Modern Indo-Aryan languages.
- (h) i (-vi) and its older form -iyá denote relationship with a place, and later to a language, as in hindostáni, Indian, paájábi, Punjabi, cini, Chinese, dehal'vi, of Delhi, mathuriyá, from Mathura, kal'katiyá, a man from Calcutta, kannsujiyá, a man from Kanauj.

The same is sometimes expressed by -válá and -válí as in deh'lí-válá, a man from Delhi, dereválí, the dialect of Dera Ismail Khan.

As such, the words are naturally substantivized.

Compare L. lah'ádí, western (Punjabi). S. siráí, a man from Siro (Upper Sind), O. oriyá, Oriya person, Oriya language, Punj. sháh'puriyá, belonging to Shahpur, but sháh'puri language.

-válá, is also used in other adjectival meanings, as in dhotíválá, a man with a dhoti, dánt'válá, a man with (prominent) teeth,

kotheválá, a man possessing a house, etc.

is a lso similarly used to denote general relationship, as in **deshi**, of the country, **naranji**, orange (colour), **sar'kari**, Governmental, **bhari**, heavy, **dhani**, white, < **dhan**, rice, etc.

-i forms adjectives with feminine gender, as bhákhi, thandhi, pyári, etc. Compare -á in (g) above which shows masculine gender.

3. iv. Suffixes forming Adverbs.

The meanings of adverbial suffixes are simple. Most of the Sanskrit suffixes have been replaced by free postpositions. Only a couple of particles are left. -taná makes adverbs of quantity in it'ná, this much, jit'ná, as much, kit'ná, how much, etc. The locative -e in sám'ne, in front, lekhe, in account, dhíre, slowly, bad'le, in exchange, is significant.

3. v. Synonymous and polysemantic suffixes.

There are synonymous suffixes which have converged in their senses (and occasionally in their sound also). Compare, e.g., suffixes in—

kaserá, brazier, sunár, goldsmith, from two dialects.
bach'rá and bach'vá, calf, from two dialects.
sáláná (urdu) and várşik (Hindi), yearly.
rishtedár (urdu) and sambandhí (Skt.), relative.
pah'lá (Hindi) and pratham (Skt.), first.
tákat'var (urdu), tákat'válá (hybrid) and bal'ván (Skt.),

strong.

The number of such words is quite large.

The phonetic und semantic development of some suffixes has resulted in their becoming polysemantic.

Examples—

-ak in lekhak, writer (agentive), tarak bharak, show (onomatopoetic), balthak, a sitting room (substantive), dholak, a small drum (diminutive).

-ni :n mor'ni, peahen (feminine), katar'ni, scissors (instrumental), darav'ni, dreadful (adjectival), kah'ni, saying (objective).

-ri in khilari, player (agentive), lang'ri, lume (pejorative), agari, front side (spatial), bansuri, flute (diminutive).

in ghori, mare (feminine), teli, oilman (agentive), boli, speech (objective), rakh'vali, care (abstract), desi (adjectival), cim'ti, (diminutive) etc.

-á in pújá, worship (abstract), melá, fair (collective), bálá, girl (feminine), bhúájá, parcher (agentive), jhúlá, a swing (instrumental), calá, gone (participial), bal'devá, (diminutive). etc., etc.

3. vi. Remarks.

The development of vocabulary by affixation of meaningful particles is a happy, useful and encourageable sign of linguistic culture.

Modern Indian languages are very rich in affixes of a large variety of meanings. But it is unfortunate that literary languages are neglecting them at a cost. Many of these suffixes are sporadic. Their application to new words is highly desirable. Most of the suffixes are dying out. Our conservative and puritan grammarianism is responsible for our backwardness in this respect of our linguistic evolution. We have lost the power of word-building. It appears, modern Hindi has not coined a single prefix, or suffix, since it became a standard literary language. We have not even used the current prefixes and suffixes to express shades of meanings.

Vast, indeed, are the resources of our language but they are lying unexplored. We need the liberal employment of the existing suffixes and a thorough investigation of means to make significant affixes for word-formation. There is a number of redundant suffixes which can be distinguished in meaning to serve our purpose. Many a new suffix would be obtained from provincial languages and dialects. Compare—

- Punj. (a) -ebá in vasebá, the art of living, hadebá, treatment with others.
 - (b) -tar in hamátar, men like ourselves, tumhátar, men like you.
 - (c) -aú in kańjaraú, wicked, bhaleman'saú, gentlemanly, gharaú, homely.
- or S. (d) -tru, in vajatru, a musical instrument, vahitru, a beast of burden.
 - (e) -iko (also skt. -ika) in vápáriko, mercantile, vapiko, commercial, varihoko, yearly.
- Guj., S. (f) -cá (Skt. -tya in dákṣiṇátya), ghar'cá, domestic, ghánt'cá, inner, lonn'cá, salted, S. gotheco, belonging to some village, páreco, from the other side.
- or, Beng. and Oriya,
 - (g) -ámi (cf. Skt. -imá in kálimá), pag'lámi, madness, lucámi, loose living, gadámi, stupidity, O. dhilámi, laziness, etc., etc.

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And if we add to them Sanskrit suffixes—primary as well as secondary, our language becomes wonderfully rich. In recent years Taddhita and Krt suffixes have been employed advantageously in developing Hindi vocabularies, although such suffixes are yet exclusively used in words of Sanskrit origin. Hindi poets, writers, teachers, translators, scientists and lexicographers have found an infinite source of developing words and meanings in order to meet the growing demands of modern culture. Of the primary suffixes ac. anah, aniya, akah, cvi, ghań, ghinun, ghyan, itra, kah, kta, ktah, kvip, khah, nakah, nam, shatr, tah, tr. tra, ti, yah, yu, and a few others have been able to find favour with word-builders. Fewer still are the secondary suffixes of which -a, -ka, -ika, -ita, -in (-i), -iya, -matup and -ta, -tra, -ya are important. But even these have not been affixed judiciously. Semantic study, apart from grammatical study which has been pursued by Sanskrit Acharvas rather comprehensively, is needed. There has to be semantic differentiation between karaniva and kárya, from kr., to do; manusyatá and manusyatva from manusya, man : vicára and vicáraná, trsá and trsná, dosa and dúsana, and so on. A classification on the lines suggested above in section 3 of this chapter is desired, because, otherwise a haphazard usage might lead to anarchy, confusion and even disuse. It is also expected that such a study would open new fields of semantic extension by means of significant affixes, not only in Hindi but also in other languages of India. Hundreds of suffixes are lying unknown and unused.

4. PHONETIC CHANGE FOR SEMANTIC CHANGE.

4. Phonetic change for Semantic change.

Besides prefixes and suffixes, infixes and sound substitutions are commonly used to effect semantic variation. Sanskrit used Guna, Vrddhi and various other ablaut grades of IE for making nouns, adjectives and verbs.

Compare-

bháva, feeling, (from bhú, to be).

krodha, anger, (from krudh, to be angry). veda, knowledge, (from vid, to know).

mauna, silent vow of an ascetic, (from muni, an ascetic).

sauharda, friendship, (from suhrd, friend).

dvaidha, division, (from dvidhá, twofold).

pautra, grandson, (from putra, son).

shaiva, pertaining to Shiva.

corayati, steals, (from cur).

or cálayati, drives, (from calati, goes), etc., etc.

Other cases of phonetic semantic differentiation are also to befound, as in-

lipi, script and lepa, plaster.

prakrta, real, and prákrta, natural.

lad, to sport, to dally, lal, to play, to move about, etc.

Hindi has not only inherited a large number of such words from Sanskrit, but it has also profusely extended this method of sound substitution or phonetic change for semantic change. Guna is used to make verbal nouns, as—

cál, movement, (from cal'ná), mel-jol, contact, (from mil'ná-jul'ná), pher, turn, (from phir'ná).

Guna is regularly used to make transitive verbs—

kát'ná, to cut, (from kat'ná), bánt'ná, to divide, (from bant'ná), pher'ná, to reture, (from phir'ná), and dekh'ná, to see, (from dikh'ná).

Reversely, too, some ablaut forms have been created analogically, as-

pal'ná, to be brought up, (from pál'ná), tul'ná, to be weighed, (from tol'ná).

Sometimes consonant change is also made for transitive meaning, as in-

tor'ná, to break, (from tút'ná), phár'ná, to tear, (from phat'ná), phor'ná, to break, (from phút'ná), chor'ná, to leave, (from chut'ná).

-4- and -v4- form two classes of causals, as-

miláná, to mix, and mil'váná, to cause to mix, phiráná and phir'váná, to cause to move, to cause to be caused to move, etc.

Sometimes various vowels are employed for several shades of the same meaning.

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Compare-

phat'ná, to burst, phut'ná, to be separated, phút'ná, to shoot out, phit'ná, to be spoilt (as milk), phitáná, to froth.

A word denoting one object has its vowels slightly changed in order to be able to signify a related object.

Compare-

- (1) bhas, ash, bhus, husk, bhusa, straw.
- (2) tak'lá, spindle, tekálá, a lance.
- (3) puńj, heap, puńji, capital.
- (4) gond, gum, guda, pith.
- (5) lang, loin cloth, linga, sign, sense organ.
- (6) sir, head, será, the head side of a bed, será, wood used on the head and foot side of a bed.
- (7) bhita, a lump, bhutta, ear of maize.
- (8) bati, a pill, boti, a bone.
- (9) gali, a street, gail, path.
- (10) khul, open, khil, bloom.
- (11) bhir, wasp, bhir, crowd.
- (12) thal, place, thal, dish.
- (13) dhang, method, dhong, imposture.
- (14) kurh'na, to fret, karh'na, to boil.
- (15) ban'ná, to be made, banáná, to make, bin'ná, to wreathe, bun'ná, to weave.
- (16) jhas'ná, to rub, jhánsá, deceit.
- (17) put, son, pot, young of an animal.

The examples of consonantal variations for semantic differentiation are—

- (1) shal, shawl, sala, a kind of red cloth, sari, a sarce.
- (2) pair, foot, pairi, a rope for the feet.
- (3) álú, potato, árú, peach.
- (4) uj'la, white, uj'ra, barren.
- (5) bhitá, a lump, bhelá, a small lump.
- (6) bhoj, a feast, bhog, enjoyment.
- (7) kańkál, skeleton, kańgál, poor.
- (8) moth, a pulse, mothá, a grass.

Instances of both vocalic and consonantal changes are many.

Compare the meanings in the following groups—

- danda, punishment and staff, danda, staff, danr, fine, dondi, beating (of a drum).
- (2) citra, picture, citti, spot, cita, spotted (animal) or leopard.
- (3) dal, party, dál, pulse, dalá, a piece, delá, a lump, dhelá, a clod.
- (4) sthán, place, tháná, a police station, thal, dry ground, thál, a plate., thán, a stable, tháng, a den of thieves, thánbh, a post, thánb'lá, a basin of earh about a tree, than, a lion's den.
- (5) cáná, to leak, cút, female part (on account of its moisture), cús'ná, to suck, cúm'ná, to kiss, cupar'ná, to besmear, cubh'ná, to.pierce, cod'ná, to copulate, khubh'ná, to be stuck up, khud'ná, to be dug up, all of which are traced by Dr. R. L. Turner to IE V Sku- and its extensions.

Keeping these observations in mind, we shall be able to appreciate the phonetic semantic modifications in the following families of words. The central word is given first, then follow words in which phonetic semantic relationship is certain, then come probable connections and last, in each of these groups, stand words (with a question mark), the relation of which is either semantically or phonologically doubtful. In the first eight groups the relationship is certain. In the ninth group all phonetic semantic connections are probable. It is a grand subject for a separate thesis, almost every group of words requiring a separate section and sometimes a chapter for discussion. We shall not attempt to give any comments, our purpose in this chapter being just to point out certain devices by which vocables and their meanings evolve. It is especially to be noted that Hindi is highly inclined towards suffixal and infixal rather than prefixal modifications.

Compare-

- (1) áge, in front, before, ágá, the front part, ag'lá, next, agárí, front side, aguá, leader, ag'vái, leadership, ag'váni, welcome, agorí, in advance, agáú, carnest money; Punj. agere, further, L. agáhía, morning meal,—all certain.
- (2) cakra, cakkar, a round, cak, landed estate, cak'lá, a board, cak'lá, a small pulley, cakká, a mill, cakaí, a duck, cák, a potter's wheel, caká, a circle, cak'rá, a pulley, cak'ráná, to revolve, Skt. cakrá, one with a wheel, cakrita, astonished, Guj. cak'tá, a flat round slice, cakar'dá, a

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circular motion, Punj. cáki, a cake of soap, cak'ti, a circular piece of leather or wood on which tobacco is prepared,
—all certain.

- (3) cácá, uncle, cácí, aunt, cacerá, cousin, caciyá, one like an uncle.—all certain.
- (4) canthá, canthí, fourth, cantháí, one-fourth, canthiyá, a kind of fever, canthe, in the fourth place, canth, the fourth day, canthaiyá, a zamindar's share, canthápan, old age; Mar., Guj., canth, a tribute equal to a fourth part of the revenue, Punj. canthá, the fourth day of mourning,—all certain.
- (5) cańd, fierce, cańdi, a passionate woman, cańdal, an outcaste, cańdu, an intoxicant; Guj. cańdul, an intoxicating preparation of opium.
- (6) do, two, donoń, both, dui, difference, dús'ra, dúja, second, dukka, two of cards, dukkar, a pair of drums, duk'ra, half of a piece, duij, second date of the month, doh'ra, two-fold, duh'rana, to revise; Punj. dúna, twice,—all certain.
- (7) háth, hand, háthí, elephant, hathíní, she-elephant, hatthá, handle, hathelí, palm of the hand, hathimrá, hammer, hathiyáná, to cheat, hatthe, in hand, hathiyár, weapon, hathmtí, manual skill; Punj. hathálá, (shallow, hand-deep), hath'rí, the wheel of a spinning machine, hath'ván, an elephant driver, hatthal, empty-handed,—all certain.
- (8) pińd, a lump, pińdá, body, pińdi, a mass of sand, piņd'ri, calf of the leg, piņdiyá, a disease, pińdol, a coloured earth, piņdálú, a root, pinná, a cake of mustard, pinni, a kind of sweetmeat. Compare Punj. pinná, a ball of thread, pin, a mass of clay or cowdung; Guj. piņdo, a large ball of thread,—all certain. Also compare piņdári, a Pindari, perá, a lump of sweets,—as probables.
- (9) andá, egg, oádá, a pit, mádá, deep, úádá, a treasure, bowl, alád'vá, (?) a rounded cloth; Γunj. áádar, áád, uncastrated, ánná, an eyeball.
- (10) ar'ná, to stop, ar, contention, araiác, enmity, ariyal, obstinate, araágá, obstacle, atak'ná, to stop, arak'ná, to wrangle, ár, cover, ot, cover, or, side, ol, shelter, lap, orh'ná, to wrap, orh'ná, a wrapping sheet, orhar, excuse,

oran, shield, orá, a big basket, addá, (?) a place to stop, tonga stand, ojhal, (?) out of sight, oli, (?) Dhoti, ori, (?) the eaves of a house. Compare Punj. ará, stoppage, arel, the name of a tool used by gold beaters, ares, complication, ari, perversity, etc.

(11) kuńd, a basin, kunńá, a pitcher, kuńdi, a stone mortar, kuńriyá, a salt pit, kuńd'rá, a circular cloth-bas-, kuńr, coil, furrow, kuńdá, a trough, kuńdalini, circular, kuńdali, kuńdal, halo, kuńdaliyá, a snake, kuńdi, (?) an

iron catch.

(12) granth, a book, gánth, a tie, gánth'ná, to stitch, gath'ná, to be mended, gathan, constitution, sangathan, unity, gathán, connection, gathilá, robust, gathalt, well-built, gath'rí, a bundle, gathiyá, rheumatism, gathal, heavy, gutthal, dull, gatthá, package, guth'ná, to be plaited, gutthí, a problem, gunth'ná, to be strung, gundh'ná, to be kneaded, gund'ná, to weave, gundhan, braid, gonth'ná, to tuck up, gonth, coil of Dhoti, gotí, a piece in dice, gattá, a corn, guttá, a dwarf, gattí, a reel, guttí, wrist, gittá, pebble (Punj. gittá, ankle), guddá, (?) a doll, guriyá, (?) a small doll, gundá, (?) wicked, gandá, (?) knotted hair, gand, (?) cheek, ganderí, (?) a piece of sugarcane, kánd, (?) division. Compare Punj. gathái, compensation for mending, goth'ná, to unite by twisting, guth'iá, a bag, guth'ván, plaited, etc.

(13) chatra, an umbrella, chat, roof, chattá, honey comb, chátá, umbrella, chat'ri, a small umbrella, chattar, royal umbrella, chátí, breast, chappar, house, chajjá, balcony, cháj, a winnowing fan, cháj'ná, to thatch, cháná, to over-spread, chat'nár, spread like an umbrella, chadma, (?) trick, chánh, (?) shade. Compare Punj. chatrá, a ram, (Skt. chatrakah), chat, broadcast sowing, chatte, wide-

spread hair, chat'vai, price of roofing.

(14) chant'na, to be cut, chant'na, to sort, chantan, cutting, char'na, to pound, charana, to get sifted, chari, stick, an instrument of sifting or pounding, chara, alone (sifted), chant'na, to vomit, chinta, splash, chint, drop, chint, calico print, chut'na, to be pruned, chut'na, to be free, chut'kara, salvation, chutti, leave, chutta, separate,

- chor'ná, to give up, cher'ná, to tease. Compare Punj. chándá, the trunk of a tree with branches lopped off, charáí, wages for husking grain in a mortar.
- (15) jatá, matted hair, jút, thick hair (ech -word), jar, root, jarí, herb, ujár'ná, to uproot, ujár, barren, júrá, a top knot, jatil, complicated, ját, a complicated or rough man, jatál, having clotted hair, jatit, jará, studded, jar'ná, to set, jaran, act of setting jewels, jariyá, jeweller, jaráú, having jewels, jháát, pubis hair, jhár, bushes, jhar'ná, to fall, jhár'ná, to dust, jhárú, broom, jhárá, stool. Compare Punj. jár, a stalk of gram, jarh, a back tooth.
- (16) nal, a spout, nál, pipe, stalk, náli, drain, nálá, stream, nár, nár, neck, nári, pulse, nálak, a rifle, nálik, a gun, nal'ká, pump, nál'ki, palanquin, nali, tube, naliyá, fowler, nalá, urinal duct, nari, a weaver's shuttle, nárá, (?) a string, nyoli, (?) intestine exercise. Compare Skt. náliká, gun, lotus, nalaka, a bone; Punj. nálan, sowing seeds in drills, L. nali, bobbin of a weaver's shuttle, nal, intestines.
- (17) patra, leaf, paper, pattá, leaf, pattar, a metal plate, patrá, calendar, patrá, horoscope, patti, a share, small leaf, pattal, a plate of leaves, pat'lo, dead leaves, pattiri, a basin, pat'lá, thin, patti, (?) a share, (a deed written on paper). Compare Skt. patriká, a news journal, patrávali, a line of leaves; Punj. patri, a thin slip of iron, patrotá, an carthenware kneading dish; L. pattará, palm leaf fibre.
- (18) put, hollow, puti, a bowl, put'ki, a bundle, puriyá, a packet, purá, a flarge packet, pot'ri, a parcel, pitárá, basket, pet, belly, petal, big-bellied, peti, belt, petiyá, chest, petú, glutton, potá, (?) eyelid, per, (?) tree, pur, (?) house, city; Punj. petá, the woof.
- (19) pat, cloth, door, pattú, shawl, pátí, mat, pattí, bandage, pattá, deed, collar, patá, board, patoli, toy cloth, patiit, lease-holder, pat'ká, turban, waist cloth. patiyá, slate, pat'rá, plank, pat'rí, road, pattí, land, patal, a cover, pat'ná, to cover, pát, (?) royal throne, pat-(ráni), (?) installed queen, pár, a frame work, pál, sail; Punj. patás, a tape, patási, a razor strap, patoi, a silk merchant, pattí, a wooden tablet for writing.
- (20) phát, breach, a cucumber, phutkar. miscellaneous, phut,

single, phut'ká, blister, phut'kí clot, phuttali, separated, phút'ná, to burst, phut'ná, to ooze, phúti, disagreement, phuteh'rá, parched grain, phorá, boil, ulcer, phor'ná, to smash, phapholá, blister, pholá, skein of cotton, phat'ná, to burst, tear, pháńt, phát, division, stripe, phat'ná, to crack, phatak'ná, to winnow, phat'kan, husk, phatá, cracked, phát'ná, to tear, phátá, cut, torn, pharak'ná, to throb, phúl, (?) flower, phúl'ná, to swell, phuliyá, stye, phul'ká, bread, phulli, albugo, phuláná, to fatten, phulla, bloom, opened; Punj. pholak, chaff, phol'ná, to lay bare the inner part, phuddi, (?) vulva, phuddu, worthless.

(21) Skt. lad, to sport, to dally, lal, to play, to move about, > latak'na, hang, lat'kana, (tr.), hang, lat'kau, hanging, lat. lock of hair, lat'na, to be entangled, lat'pat, folded, lot. (?) rolling, lant, (?) return, lattu, a top, lattu, enamoured, lat'ka, show, latai, reel, laturi, tangled hair, lad, caress, lar, string, lari, a chain, lád'lá, pet, lar'ná, to fight, larái, battle, laráká, quarrelsome, lári, bride, lar'ká, boy, lándá, tailless, lur'ká, an ear drop, land, penis, lund, headless trunk, lundá, docked, rund, headless, luniá, crippled. lend, lump of dung, lid, horsedung, londa, a lump, landda, a boy, landdi, a maid, lol, shaking, lori, lullaby, Iula, lame of hand, lur'ki, an ear-ornament, lallo, tongue, lalli, a pet name, lad, to load, ladi, (?) a load, ladiya, (?) used to loading, lat, (?) leg, lata, (?) creeper, latti, (?) kick, lattá, (?) rag, lat'rá, (?) old shoes, etc. Compare Punj. lar, skirt, lat'kan, a nose ring, latúri, a spinnet, latúná, a large spinnet, lorhá, a roller, etc.

Phonetic variation for semantic variation, as explained above, is a very interesting phenomenon, which if pursued as a subject by itself, is sure to open new vistas in Comparative Sematology.*

The process of P. S. M. (Phonetic Semantic Modifications) is the wonderful result of radiation and concatenation which we shall discuss at length in the chapter on important variations. Once a vowel or a consonant is allowed to be replaced, the process grows with the growth of semantic needs.

^{*}The author occes inspiration for this article to Dr. R. L. Turner's article on 'copnu' in his Nebali Dictionary.

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5. COMBINATIONS

- (i) Compounds.
 - (a) SEMANTIC CLASSIFICATION.
 - (b) Semantic Evaluation of Compounds Simple Juxtaposition of Meaning Elliptical Compounds —
 Evolved Meaning Distinction of Compounded
 and Uncompounded forms Obsolescence Single
 words Ambiguity.
- (ii , REPETITIONS.
 - (a) VARIOUS MEANINGS.
 - (b) Developed Meanings.

 The force of hi, ka, se, n.
- (iii) Echo words and Intensives.

5. i. Compounds.

So far we have dealt with combinations of free words, with affixes or fragmentary words which have no independent meaning or use but which modify the meaning of a base. In this section we are concerned with the extension of meaning by the combination of full words. Such combinations exist in three forms—(a) Compounds, (b) Rep-titions, and (c) Echoes and Intensives. In a way, repetitions or echoes are also compounds, but we distinguish here the compounds to signify the combinations of semantically independent and different words which unite to form one simple idea. The semantic aspect of the question has nowhere been so fully appreciated as in Sanskrit.*

5. i(a). Semantic Classification.

Compounds in Sanskrit are classified not according to their form but according to their meaning. The classification of our compounds is not based on a mere addition of one grammatical category and another, (noun and noun, noun and adjective, adjective and noun,

^{*}Greaves and Kellogg have unfortunately failed to grasp this feature of the Indian study of compounds.

adverb and noun, verb and noun, noun and verb, etc.), but a juxtaposition of words connected with each other by one bond of relationship which gives a unity of sense. Thus we have a fourfold classification, namely,

- púrvapadártha pradhána, when the meaning of the first element is primary.
- (2) uttarapadårtha pradhána, when the meaning of the second element is primary.
- (3) sarvapadartha pradhána, when the meaning of both the elements is equally important; and
- (4) anyapadartha pradhana, when the meaning of a third (unexpressed) element is primary.
- 1. In the Determinative (tatpurusa) compound the meaning of the first word determines the sense of the second which is thus restricted. The dependent position of the first element in relation to the second is understood by ellipsis, rel'gari, railway train = rel (par cal'ne vali) gari.
- 2. In the Descriptive (karmadháraya) compound, one of the two elements qualifies the other. In this sense, of course, the descriptive compound is a form of determinative but in the former case there is no ellipsis of words signifying the relation between the two. The relation of the qualificative members is appositional rather than subordinate, e.g. mahájan, a big man, bhalámánas, a gentleman. It is not enough to say that one of the elements of this compound is an adjective or adjective-equivalent. This cannot properly distinguish it from the Determinative or the Attributive compound in which also the first member is, of course, an adjective-equivalent.
- The Numeral (dvigu) compound is a variety of the Descriptive compound and semantically it should not be taken as a separate class, except because its meaning is restricted by the numeral adjective, as in pańseri, a measure of five seers, canghará, a box with four partitions, dubhásiyá, an interpreter.
- 3. In the Copulative (dvandva) compound, the elements do not qualify or restrict the meaning of each other. They retain their independent meaning, although they may refer to an additional meaning. Both the elements occupy co-ordinate positions. Examples—

mán-báp, mother and father, anna-jal, food and drink, khánápiná, eating, drinking and other such actions, bál-baccá, children, II

etc. i.e. family including even wife.

4. When the first element has the primary meaning of an adverb, and the whole compound has the adverbial sense modified by the second element, the compound is called an Adverbial (avyayavibháva) compound. This compound may be grammatically important, but it has no semantic pecularity.

Examples—

nidharak, fearless, an'parh, illiterate, savere, early.

5. When the two words standing in relation to each other as in a descriptive compound refer to and qualify something else than what is expressed by its members, the compound is called an Attributive (bahuvrihi) compound. It generally attributes that what is expressed by its second member, determined or qualified by what is denoted by its first member to something denoted by neither of the two. The whole compound becomes a qualificative. Examples—

tikon, a figure with three angles.

mith'bola, a man who is sweet-tongued.

pat'jhar, a season in which leaves fall down, autumn.

Skt. nirjana, a place without population.

When pitambar, means 'a yellow cloth', it is a Descriptive compound, and when it means 'a person wearing yellow clothes', it becomes an Attributive compound. This fact, again, shows that our classification of compounds is based on semantic considerations.

5. i(b). Semantic Evaluation of compounds.

SIMPLE JUXTAPOSITION OF MEANING. The loosest type of compounds are those in which words are simply juxtaposed but not modified in meaning, (ajahatsvárthá). They remain separate appellations in the compound, such as complementary copulative compounds, máń-báp, (parents), anna-jal (food and drink), ghat'ti-baph'ti, (loss and gain), non-mirac, (salt and pepper), len-den, (giving and taking, dealings). Compare Beng. mashá-máchí, mosquitos and flies, Punj. lárá-lári, bride, and bridegroom, etc.; or a large number of descriptive compounds, mahápáp, great sin, maháráj, great king, par'meshvar, the Supreme Being, ail'gáy, the antelope, adh'mará, half dead, kharí bolí, a standard

language, vindhya parvat, the Vindhya Mountain, kusap'ná, a bad dream, ráj'hańs, the king goose; Beng. thákur'dádá, grandfather.

Or, a number of adverbial and adjectival compounds, pratidin, everyday, apriya, unlovable, ámaran, till death, yatháshakti, according to power. Compare Bengali dar'páká, half ripe, L. bi-laik, (be + láyak), incompetent.

Or, pronominal compounds, jo koi, whoever, har koi, everyone, mr koi, another, jo kuch, whatever, sab kuch, the whole,

Or, some adjectival compounds do-tin, two or three, kálá-syáh, jet-black.

ELLIPTICAL COMPOUNDS. Some compounds form single appellations and the elements thereof do not convey a complete sense by themselves. They are, so to say, condensed and elliptical expressions.

These formations have been made in two ways, namely-

- A. A phrase or even a sentence actually existing in the language may be shortened to a compound or two prominent semantemes by the ellipsis of any number of positional words which may stand before, between or (and) after them may coalesce.

 Examples—
- (a) Ellipsis of postpositional words intervening between the two
- se in man'mana, i.e. as desired by one's heart, kapar'chan, i.e. strained by cloth, gun'hin, i.e. deprived of qualities, desh'nikala, i.e. banishment from the country.

ke liye in desh-bhakti i.e. devotion for one's country, rasofghar, house for cooking (kitchen), rokar-bahi, a book for cash account.

ká in vidyábhyás, practice of education, ghur'damr, race of horses, rám'kaháni, story of Rama.

meń in prem'magna, absorbed in love, kalápravín, expert in art.

par in ap-biti (ap'ne apar jo biti), autobiography.

ko in svargaprápta, one who has attained salvation, jeb' kat'rá, one who cuts others, pockets.

Compare Bengali, khái-kharac, expenses for food. Compare also H. áy'kar, tax on income.

(b) Ellipsis of any other relational words between them—

dahí-bará = dahí meň dúbá huá bará, a ball of pulse put

in curd.

pan'cakkí = pání se cal'ne válí cakkí, a mill working

with the help of water.

gurambá = gur meň ubálá huá ám, mango boiled in sugar.

jeb-gharí = jeb meň rakh'ne kí gharí, a watch to be put

in the pocket.

ság-pát = ság patte zur anya padártha, vegetables, fruits

ság-pát = ság patte mr anya padártha, vegetables, fruits and other things.

Compare Bengali palánna, meal mixed with meat, toná-pákhá, a fan working by magic, Mar. jhal'khá, water heated in the sun.

(c) Ellipsis of words following or preceding them-

kan'phatá == kán phatá hal jis'ká, a person whose ear is cut; Beng. kán'kat. hańs'mukh == hańs'tá mukh hal jis'ká, a person who has a smiling face. bárah'singá == bárah sing ho játe haln jis hiran ke, a deer which has twelve horns.

Compare Bengali lej'kața, an animal having its tail cut.

(d) Ellipsis of words between, before and after them—
candramukhi = cáńd ke se mukh váli, a woman having
a face as beautiful as that of the moon.
kokil'kańthi = koyal ke kańth ke samán mithá hai kaúth
jis'ká voh stri, lady who has voice as sweet as that of a cuckoo.

B. Secondly, a large number of objects and ideas are given names of this type. When we see a new object, or experience a new idea or feeling, we start with analysing it in the known terms. Hence many of our terms including also translated and technical terms are compounds. We see a plant and are at once attracted by its flowers which we imagine as standing with folded hands and name it kar'jori. We see a glow-worm and think that it is an insect shining like a diamond and name it kir'mani. We come across a root which is as sweet as sugar and call it shakkar'kandi. At the sight of a bird busy knocking at wood with its beak, we call it kath'phori. Similar formations are main'sukh (lit. that gives pleasure to the eyes), a cloth, phul'jhari (lit. one that showers flowers), sparkler, nak'carhi (one whose nose is raised,) angry, ras'gulli (a ball of juice), a sweetmeat, mor'pankhi (something

like the feathers of a peacock), a kind of boat.

Note how new terms are being coined in modern Hindi and other Modern Indian languages.

gurutvákarsan, gravitation vantravidvá, mechanism shastrop'cár, operation shabdárthavicár. Semantics vishvakosh, Encyclopaedia rúp'váni, talkie astravarjan, disarmament krod'patra, additional sheet káryakram, agenda

cal'citra, movie.

mánavikaran, personification ajáyab'ghar, jádúghar, (in Bengal and Bihar), museum sharir'shastra, Physiology nikhát'dravya, fossils bhásávijáyán, Linguistics samái'vád. Socialism vishvavidyálay, University betår, wireless ek'náyakatva, dictatorship vandishivir, detention camp

These names reveal interesting facts about the psychological analysis of a nation. What is a single name for one nation may be a compound term for another. Just as any other name is arbitrary and not fully expressive of all the attributes of an object, so also is the compound.

The same analytical thinking is responsible for a large number of poetical names of objects which the poet's imagination dissolves. Although originally intended to convey some special characteristics of such objects, these Sanskrit names have become as conventional and synonymous as the real names.

God = paramátmá, the Supreme Being, sarveshvar, the lord of all.

Shiva = pashupati, the lord of beings, nil'kanth, one with blue throat.

The sun = prabhákar, the lighter, din'kar, the day-maker. Evening - dinant, end of the day, godhuli, time of cows raising dust.

Week == saptáh, seven days, Coll. H. ath'várá, eight days. Earth = vasundhará, one that bears the wealth of minerals, acalá, unshakable.

Turnip = gol'gájar, round carrot, dind'ri modak, vegetable

Lemon = amlasár, one having sour taste, jantumári, one that kills animals, etc., etc. 11

EVOLVED MEANING. The whole group, as such, can develop its meaning in a manner, or to a degree, not shared by the component parts—

mahávat (mahámátra, a big officer), elephant-driver. ráut (rájadúta, rájaputra, royal messenger), a caste. tipái (tín + pái, three-footed), a small table. motivábind. lit. a drop of pearl, cataract.

Skt. pándulipi (pale script), manuscript.

pańca kalyán (lit. five blessings), a horse which has its hoofs and forehead white.

lál'pilá (red and yellow), angry.
tín-terah (three and thirteen), scattered.
das ek (ten and one), about ten.

chotá bará (big and small), every one.

Compare Punj. kálí cuátí (a black burnt-wood), a mischievous fellow, sir'sará (one with burnt head), a drudge.

According to some Sanskrit grammarians, including Jagadisha, the component parts in a true compound must cease to retain their individual meanings, and give rise to only one united sense. A compound, according to the author of the Vaiyakarana Bhuṣaṇa, is grammatically inadmissible in those cases where padas (words) are so related to each other that they cannot give rise to any special signification.

The meaning of a compound, sometimes, becomes so conventional and national, that it becomes impossible for a foreigner to understand its meaning without first knowing the whole story of the compound.

Examples-

Skt. súryatanayá == (lit. the daughter of the sun), the Yamuna river.

pańcańga = (five parts), a calendar. makaradhyaja = (alligator-flagged), cupid.

H. namratna = (lit. nine jewels), the nine great men of the Gupta

age.

ghari-diyá = a pitcher and an earthen lamp placed near a

dying man.

put'lighar = (lit. house of puppets), cloth factory.

pichal'pái = (lit. one with inverted feet), a witch.

Compare Mar. kal-tondya (one with a black mouth), luckless.

H. kál'munhá, has the same meaning. Beng. jádúghar, (magic house), museum, Punjabi Gargai phrases, lakh'netrá (one having a hundred thousand eyes), one-eyed, rám'ráj (the state of Rama). forest, mukh'mánj'ní (mouth cleaner), tooth-brush, panj ish'nán five baths), washing the face only.

Panini rightly observes (I. 2.56) that the meaning of a compound is not fixed by grammatical rules but by usage and idiom. Compare-

ráj'mahal is the King's palace, and ráj'márga is the public road.

nak'tá is one whose nose is cut off, and ganth'katá is one who picks others' pockets.

duanni is a two-anna coin, cunraha is the meeting place of four roads.

mánbáp means 'mother and father', but gurubhái is 'a brother on the side of a common Guru'.

tentis is 'three and thirty', while tin'car is 'three or four'.

Skt. candramukha means 'moon-like face', and guhamukha means the 'entrance to the cave' and gomukha is 'a hole in a wall made by a thief'.

triloki means 'the three worlds', but pancavati means 'a place where there are five banyan trees,'

saptáha means 'a period of seven days' and naváha means 'the reading of a holy book for nine days.'

DISTINCTION OF COMPOUNDED AND UNCOMPOUNDED FORMS.

The view of Sanskrit authorities, like Jagad'sha, that a compound gives a unity of semantic sense different from its component parts. is further confirmed by comparing the meanings of the compounded and uncompounded forms below-

mámásasur, wife's uncle

mom'batti, candle kath'bap, stepfather

kath'kela, a tasteless banana kath ka kela, a wooden

ghoránas, a large vein near ghore ki nas, vein of a the heal

mámá ká sasur, uncle's father-in-law.

mom ki batti, a stick of wax. káth ká báp, a wooden father (toy).

home.

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pán'pattá, an ordinary present pán ká pattá, betel-leaf.

háthípány, a disease

háthi ká pány, the foot of an elephant.

bhmhr'kali, an ornament

bhannrá anr kali, a bee and

naniab, the Puniab lál'pilá, angry

páńc áb. five waters. lál mar pilá, red and vellow.

Compare Mar.

kál'márjár, a pole cat káľtońdvá, luckless

kálá márjár, any black cat. kál tondá, black face.

S. karani trutro, hand-broken

karani jo trutro, broken of hands (lazy),

Puni, cit'sirá, an old man with grav cittá sir, grav head.

hair

Skt. digdarshana, specimen

dishám darshana, sight of the quarters.

OBSOLESCENCE. The component parts may become obsolete as separate words and in such cases it becomes difficult to see the compounded nature of the term as Skt. ku (earth), in H. kujjá, an earthen pot, kudál, a kind of spade, lit. an earth-digger, or Skt. rangabhúmi is a dramatic stage, although ranga is no longer used in this sense, and Skt. rasatala is the nether regions, rasa being no more used to mean 'earth'.

SINGLE WORDS. Sometimes the compounds develope into a form which is apparently a single word, but which, when phonologically analysed, reveals a compound.

bagúlá = báu+golá, whirlwind.

kharánv = káth+pánv, wooden slippers.

phulel = phul + tel, flower-oil.

cauritha = caur + pitha, ground rice.

kathautá = káth+pátra, wooden pot.

garánv = Skt. gala+dáma, neck rope.

etc. etc.

Compare Mar., Punj. unhálá < uspakálah, hot weather. Punj. hanerá < andhakára, darkness.

bhaniya, H. bah'noi < bhaganipati, sister's husband.

L. darokhá < Skt. diparaksakah, a lampstand.

house

Beng. ghorárú < Skt. ghotakarúpa, a kind of deer.

AMBIGUITY. Sometimes the compound has an ambiguous meaning. Because, first, there is no difference of gender and number, and secondly, the compound may be interpreted in a number of ways.

cirimar may mean 'one who killed a bird', or 'one who kills birds.

ráj'purus may mean 'a man of the king', or 'a man of the kings,' or 'a queen's man'.

hath'kari may mean 'chain for one hand', or 'a chain for both hands.'

satyavrat may mean 'truth and vow', 'a true vow', 'a vow of truthfulness', or 'one who has taken the vow of truthfulness.'

rám'ráj may mean 'Rama's government', or 'a government like that of Rama'.

But it may be noted that in most cases convention has restricted the use of the compound in a particular sense. See page 84.

5. ii. Repetitions.

5. ii(a). Various Meanings.

Words and meanings are extended and modified not only by prefixes, suffixes, phonetic modifications and compounds, but also by repetitions. The repetition of words has considerable power. The force differs with different words and in different sentences. It may imply—

(1) Distribution, as in—

tin tin rupaye, three rupees ghar ghar men, in every

each

jahán jahán, at every place

jo jo, every person who

ap'ne ap'ne, respective

ap'ne ap'ne, respective

naye naye sukh, every kind

of new hapiness.

(2) Distinction, as in phál phál cun lo, i.e. flowers as distinguished from other stuff. chote chote lar'ke, small boys as distinguished from big boys.

(3) Variety, as in-

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desh desh ke raja, kings of various countries. kvá kvá, what various things. acche acche kap're, various kinds of good clothes.

(4) Intensity, as in-

hare hare patte, comparitively green leaves

kuch kuch, quite thik thik, very rightly

áiye áiye, please do come

pás pás, quite near

dhire dhire, very slowly bacá bacá kar, saving very

well

váh váh denotes great joy

cal cal, get away háy háy shows intense pain or sorrow.

(5) Reciprocity, as in-

bhai bhai ká prem, love of a brother for his brother.

(6) Adverbial sense of manner, as inpáńy páńy cal'ná, to walk panti panti, in rows

step by step thik thik, rightly.

saf saf, clearly

(7) Gradual movement, as inhote hote, gradually

jit'ná jit'ná...it'ná it'ná, as...

RA.

(8) Continuance, as insarak ke kinare kinare, along the road side. cal'te cal'te, walking continuously. bandhe bandhe, being tied for a long time.

(9) Repetition of an action, as in-

kar'te kar'te nipun ho gaya, by doing repeatedly, he became an expert.

kát kát girá diye, after cutting again and again.

Sounds repeated may, sometimes, make sensible onomatopoetic words, as khat-khat, gir'giráná, bar'baráná, phar'phará, bhar'bhar, bhas'bhasá, ctc.

5. ii(b). Developed Meaning.

Some repetitions give especially developed meanings, askhare khare, at once. rám rám l, salutations koi koi, a few tá tá malá malá, quarrel

kab kab-seldom

baithe baithe-without effort.

Some repetitions have more than one sense. Examples-

> chote chote bacce may imply distribution, classification or intensity.

kahán kahán may imply distribution or variety. cor cor may mean every thief or shouts of 'thief'. kar'te kar'te may indicate continuance or repetition of an

THE FORCE OF hi, ka (including also ke and ki), se, na, when they intervene in some cases between repetition, is to be noted.

hi gives intensive force, as inpás hi pás, very near man hi man, in the very heart of his heart

ap hi ap, himself only dukh hi dukh, nothing but acchá hí haí, tolerably good gayá hí gayá jáno, he is gone,

ká shows totality, as inghar ke ghar, all the houses sab ka sab, whole of it ihund ke ihund the whole

do ke do, all the two groups lene ke dene, loss in stead of gain, difficulties.

se between adjectives denotes the superlative degree and between other words it shows difference, instrumentality, and so on, as inacche se acchá, best of all, chote se chotá, smallest of all, kyá se kyá, unexpectedly different, int se int bajá di, destroyed.

na adds a sense of indefiniteness and choice, as in-

koi na koi, some one or the other, kuch na kuch, some thing or the other, ek ma ek, one or the other.

The above observations and examples may be compared with those about Bengali given in Dr. Tagore's Bangla Shabda Tattva, pp. 37-42.

It may also be noted that in this respect Indian languages, are, perhaps, semantically better off and, in a way, richer in expression than English. The clarity and force suggested by repetition is certainly lacking in the English translation.

5. iii. Echo-Words and Intensives.

ECHO-WORDS. The Echo-words or Expletives generally express the meaning 'et cetra' or 'things like that', as in—

citthi-itthi, letter, telegram and other things like them, mithaivithai, sweetmeat et cetra, ad'mi-ud'mi, man, woman, child etc., mej-vej, table and other things like that, as-pas, all around.

We do not quite agree with Dr. B. R. Saxena that more often an echo-word "is meaningless and appears to give to the speaker only a facility in his current of speech" (Awadhi, p. 323). We have studied about 300 echo-words in different contexts and found them generally definitely significative. If the speaker says "koi mej hai?" (Is there any table here?), he would not be satisfied with any other thing. But if he says, koi mej-vej hai? he can be shown a tea-poy, and that would satisfy his need.

An echo-word adds an effect, e.g. vaháń koi ád'mi nahíń means there is no man there, there might be women, children or cattle, but vaháń koi ád'mi ud'mi nahíń means that there is no human being at all.

In a large number of combinations, an echo-word serves as an intensive. Compare cup'cáp, very silent, bhír bhár, great crowds, khoj kháj, complete search, báńdh búńdh kar, having tied and packed properly, kát kút kar, after cutting fully, dekh bhál lo, see carefully, aros paros, the whole neighbourhood, nańgá mańgá, very naked.

Also compare pás, near, and ás pás, all around; sám'ne, in front, and ám'ne sám'ne, face to face; pár, the other side, and ár pár, from one side to another.

INTENSIVES. Intensives are of various forms and combinations but that is the concern of a grammarian. We have already noted how echo-words and repetitions add intensity. Further examples of intensification of meaning are—

khulam khulá, very open,
public
alag thalag, quite separate
gilá páni, very wet
ahor gul, great noise

public
phak uj'lá, very clean
phatá puráná, very old
subah savere, carly in the
morning

etc., etc.





1. CLASSIFICATION

- (i) MULTIPLICITY OF MEANINGS.
 - (a) Monosemy The fact of Polysemy Radiation —
 Polysemy a question of cultural Advangement —
 Examples.
 - (b) Causes of Polynymy—mental convenience—Cultural needs—Transference of meaning—Attributive applications—Analogy and Figure—Poetrical pleonasms—Abridgment—Grammatical Uses—Dialectical Developments—Conservatism.
- (ii) Homonymy.
 - Inherited Phonological Tsm. and Tbh. Foreign —
 Mixtures Folk Etymologies Poetrical and
 Grammatical Homonyms.
- (iii) Apparent Homonyms.
- (iv) PARONYMS.

We have known how words grow semantically. Every one who has used a dictionary realizes that most words have several meanings. Such words are of two kinds—

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(1) Words which have identical sounds and common etymology. The word is the same, historically as well as phonetically, but it has a variety of meanings grown out of the primary meaning. The word, as it were, shoots forth sub-meanings, as a branch shoots forth twigs. Such words may be called "Polynyms".

Examples-

ásan—sitting posture, scat, residence, elephant's shoulder. utár'ná—to bring down, to draw, to trace, to detach, to pluck, to put off (clothes), to accommodate, to sacrifice. jal'ná—to burn, to be jealous, to feel miserable.

cal-gait, way, conduct, custom, trick.

gánth-knot, joint, bundle.

pańc-five, a collection of five, an assembly of five aldermen, a chief, a representative of the public, the public.

(2) Words which correspond in sound but differ in meaning and derivation, such phonetic convergence being purely accidental. In fact they are different words, and naturally enough are excluded by Steinthal. Though semantically widely divergent and absolutely unrelated, they are identical in sound, and whoever hears such a combination of sounds spoken without any connection, is unable to recognise which of the significations inherent in the word is in the mind of the speaker. Such words are called "Homonyms".

Examples-

tiyá, three of cards (< Skt. trtiyá), woman, (< Skt. stri).
mel, agreement (from mil'ná), mail train (Eng.).
gayá, went, name of a holy place.
tál, palm tree (tára), rhythm, tank, (táláb).
pir, pain (< Skt. pidá), a sage, (Persian pir, old).
gaj, elephant (Skt.), a yard, (Per. gaz).

1. i(a). Multiplicity of Meanings.

MONOSEMY. Attempts have been made as by Steinthal*, to prove that there are no such things as words with several significations. Vendryes (Language, pp. 177 ff) also thinks that there is no such problem as plurality of meaning. "When we say that one

^{*}Zschr f. Volkerpsych, i, 426.

word may mean several things, we are in a sense, the dupes of an illusion. Among the diverse meanings a word possesses, the only one that will emerge into consciousness is the one determined by the context. All the others are abolished, extinguished, non-existent. This is true even of words whose signification appears to be firmly established." He adds: "To admit that these words may have a fundamental meaning and secondary meanings derived from this is to state the problem from the historical point of view.

"Words have no meaning except in sentences. The speaker and the listener really recognise two different words in these two different uses. The two words are as different as any words can well be. In current usage a word has only one meaning at a time."

Vendryes concludes that if "there are two or three outstanding irreducible meanings of a word, then these two words must be taken as separate words."

The poeticians in India have also believed that the meaning of every word, in the strict sense of the term (shakti), is only one, all other meanings being only implications (lakṣaṇā). With this view modern Logic also agrees, for the meaning in its strict sense is called here denotation, while meaning in its loose sense is called connotation. "A new acceptation is equivalent to a new word", says Breal. (Note the exhaustive treatment of Denotation and Connotation in Welton's Logic).

The Indian grammarians also state that a word does not simultaneously express more than one meaning.* Each time a word is used in a different sense, it serves practically as an altogether new word, though the outward form is the same.

THE FACT OF POLYSEMY. Whether these words should be taken as one or as so many different units is a question which stands apart from the fact that words, in the course of their history, develop a number of meanings, related one to the other.† The divergent meanings of a word can all be brought to some one point from which, immediately or mediately, they proceed.

khará kar'ná has come to mean to raise, to station, to realise,

^{*} sakrduccaritah shabdah sakrdevártham vidhatte, yangpadya-matikramya paryáye vyatisthate—Vákyapadíya.

t ekashca shabdah bahvarthah.—(M.B.) Also see Nirukta, IV.

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to pitch (a tent), to stop, to set up, to place erect, to procure a fictitious person, to build. They can all be traced to the primary meaning of khará kar'ná, namely, to cause to stand. dam means life, moment, the stewing over a slow fire. These are apparently unrelated significations but when we try to understand them with reference to the original meaning of dam (i.e. breath), they become clear.

In a large number of cases it is impossible to recognise, without some historical knowledge, the original connection between the various significations. tar is a string of a musical instrument and a telegram. Who could understand the relationship between the two, without knowing that in one case the original meaning of tar, wire, has been specialized professionally and in the other case it is transferred.

The two meanings of jhárá i.e. stool and incantation, are altogether unrelated, but they can be explained through jháríná, to sweep; hence jhárá, stool, purges the stomach, and jhárá, incantation, sweeps away the cvil.

This is especially so when the primary meaning, or the medial meaning, has disappeard in char, the shaft of a carriage, on the one hand, and a sale house, a gambling house, on the other. One can understand the possible connection between a sale house and a gambling house, but it is impossible to connect them with the shaft of a carriage. It appears that the meaning 'shaft of a carriage' was first transferred to the 'carriage', which was transferred to a 'house' and the latter was specialized to mean "a sale house", and then 'a gambling house'. Similarly, the two meanings of qab, viz., leather with which oil pots are made, and 'a bag', or 'a pocket', show that qab, must have originally meant 'leather', which was first specialised and then transferred to the article made of that material and consequently generalised.

Thus we can reconstruct meanings as we can reconstruct the sounds of words phonologically for which see Appendices to Dr. R. L. Turner's Nepali Dictionary.

RADIATION. Everybody has envied the magician's talent of being in two places at once. Words, in the development of their meanings, seem to have mastered the trick. canká, for example, is almost ubiquitous in its special sense. The word accomplishes the feat of

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being in eleven more or less widely separated places at the same time without ceasing to hold its original position—its sense of "four-sided", at the centre; and the secondary meanings radiate out of it in every direction like rays. Each is independent of the rest.

Compare-

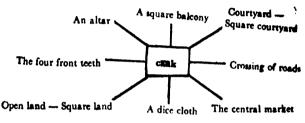


Figure 1.

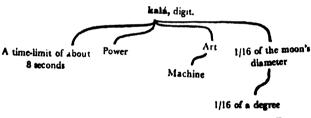


Figure 2.

Thus, any derived meaning may become the source of one or more further derivations, and by and by a succession of radiations proceeds.

In the next figure the meanings in the bottom are distinctly subordinate. If we consider the possibility of connecting cak'ld with cank as the result of phonetic-semantic modification (see pp. 70 ff.), the arrangement of meanings would take a different form. It is, then, possible that the meaning 'square land' of cank may have formed a nucleus for new radiations detailed under cak'ld.

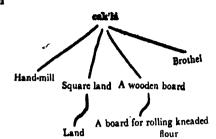


Figure 3.

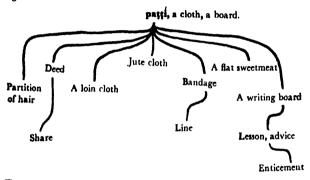


Figure 4.

Meanings of individual words are thus increasing. Every speaker is constantly making new specialized applications of words, which, derived from the same basal idea, come to possess several meanings, often widely different, by more or less intricate specializations and generalizations. No dictionary can ever register a tithe of them.

Sometimes, intermediary meanings may be missing and a semantician has to reconstruct such meanings in order to provide a link. For instance, in the last figure the meaning 'bandage' may have given rise to 'a striped bandage', from which 'stripe' or 'line' should naturally proceed.

On the basis of such sequences of meanings, it is possible, and also essential, for a lexicographer to arrange meanings in the order of their development, and establish connections where they appear far-fetched and untenable.

POLYSEMY
1. £

POLYSEMY A QUESTION OF CULTURAL ADVANCEMENT. If a word had only one fixed and unchanging meaning, our powers of expression would be very limited in comparison with the complexity of thought. In order to give expression to his inner thoughts, which grow as civilization grows, man must either increase the stock of words or develop the significations of the existing words. have shown in the last chapter that it is easier and more natural for language to modify words by affixes or to modify the sense of these existing words, than to create altogether new words. Pataniali believes,* as does Tucker in modern times, that language does not create new words. In a way, polysemy is a sign of linguistic impoverishment; the language having failed to create new symbols for new ideas uses the same ones in different senses.† But it is natural that when a word becomes 'eloquent', it should extend its meanings. The evolution of meaning, in this way, is a continual process and it involves the least conscious method. The different senses of a word show different stages of cultural development. They represent the history of allied ideas. In proportion as a civilization gains in variety and in richness, the occupations, the acts and the interests of which the society is composed are divided among different groups of men. Neither the state of mind nor the trend of activity is the same in the cases of priest, soldier, politician, artist, merchant and farmer. Though they have inherited the same language, their words become, in each case, coloured with a distinct shade, which pervades and finally adheres to them. Habit, surroundings and, in fact, the whole ambient atmosphere determines the meaning of the word and corrects its too general signification.

The word múl which comes from agriculture is equally connected with philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, economics, philology, etc. It may mean 'root', 'first cause', 'capital', 'price', 'original text', etc. dhátu means God, element, semen, vitality, metal, relic (for Buddhists), etc.

There is one other important factor in polynymy which shows that there is a cultural feature of language. Polynymy, on the whole, is not a characteristic of language proper, the so-called colloquial language, but an incident of literature, poetic and technical.

^{*}M.B. Vol. I, p. 7 (Kielhorn edition). †Breal, p. 285.

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Literature, unable to coin new words, or even to modify existing ones, manipulates the words of language in various new senses which are given by the context. For, when language is denuded of literature and is studied from a strictly realistic point of view, occurrences of polysemy appear almost inappreciable.*

If the plurality of meaning is considered to be a sign of civilization, Hindi may reasonably claim to be the language of a very highly cultured people. A reference to the Hindi Shabda Ságar will show that quite a good number of words have as many as twenty and even more significations; vide articles under ang, kund, karan, kat'rá, kát'ná, kumbha, kará, kosh, kháná, cal'ná, jal'ná, mil'ná, golá, níl, chút'ná, chení, tip, dánt, carháná, cháná, bhar'ná, etc. kalá has 64 meaning-nuances.

1. i(b). Causes af Polynymy.

In tracing the causes of polynymy, only brief references would be made, as they are treated at length in later chapters, especially those on "Causes of Variations", and "Important Variations".

MENTAL CONVENIENCE. The main and the most important cause of polynymy is the fact that we cannot have an unlimited number of words for an infinite number of ideas, objects and actions. Our memory has its own limitations. If we were to have a word for every single object, act or quality, our memory would collapse under the burden. Elasticity of meaning makes our words handy and enhances their practical value. Arabic may have two hundred and more words for the camel and some South American languages may have numerous words for many other objects and ideas; but they must be poor, indeed, in other spheres. Then, these words do not naturally form the current vocabulary of any single speaker. The evolution of meaning is a sign of the richness of thought. It is easier to remember significations by association, the different meanings associated one with another, than to learn isolated units. Quite a good number of words get their meanings extended to related acts or objects. patra, a leaf, came to be used for a letter

^{*}Polysemy in slang and idion is also the result of literary moods.

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for which the material used in ancient India was a leaf, later for a paper and very recently for a newspaper. kántá, a thorn, is used for a fish bone, a fishing hook, the tongue of a balance, the balance itself, the spine, a fork, a spur, Guj. the hand of a watch, the sting, Punj. an ornament, and so on. The associations are clear.

CULTURAL NEEDS. It has been noted already that meanings differ with different trades and professions. And as every individual has to deal with these specialists, such words and their various meanings become the common property. The confectioner, the farmer, and the mason have different meanings of chinks, i. e. a netted basket, a mouth-cover for cattle, a lattice. canki is a safe for victuals in the kitchen, a chair in the drawing room, an archgate in the temple, a stage in journey, a guard's post in the army, a police station in the civil department, an ornament with goldsmiths, a band of musicians or pilgrims in the Punjab, etc. gari is a cart, a carriage, a train, a car, a lorry, a bicycle, a perambulator, with various people using a particular vehicle. kothi is a bungalow, a granary, a factory, the womb, the ferrule of a scabbard, the chamber of a gun, a crib, a large basket, an earthen vessel, etc. The same also means 'the Residency', 'a kind of firework' in Gujrat and 'the shaft of a well' and 'a closet' in the Punjab. carkhi is a wheel (Per. carxa), a spinning wheel, a cotton ginning roller, a bobbin, a pulley for drawing water from the well and so on.

TRANSFERENCE OF MEANING. By similar transferences of meaning, a word is applicable to more than one object, notion or action. Thus, eiter

(a) the applicability of meaning is wide and comes to be narrowed, as in tatti, a shelter, a matted shutter, a latrine; tal (Punj. talá), bottom, the bottom (sole) of the foot; panth, way, a religious sect; kani (Punj. kani), a particle, a particle of rice, an uncooked grain of rice; or

(b) the applicability is widened and becomes general, as in mavabl, the life of a Nawab, luxury; kar'bala, the name of a place where Husain was killed, a desolate land, the place where tarias are buried, and, in the Punjab, a shrine, a graveyard; bhan'matl, Raja Bhoja's daughter who was a great conjuror, an actress or a female juggler, and, in the Punjab, a juggler of either sex; or

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(c) the same word may express more than one allied meaning, as prasad, obligation, food; pahuúc, reach, a receipt; shishá, glass, a mirror; sirohi, name of a place, a sword.

ATTRIBUTIVE APPLICATIONS. Several words are originally vague in their meaning, and speakers may use them in various shades. This is particularly true in the case of adjectives and adjectival nouns.

Compare-

pakká «Skt. pakva, cooked, in pakká phal, ripe fruit, pakká rańg, fast colour, pakká makán, bricked house, pakká rasoi, food cooked in butter, pakká páni, perennial water, pakká kágaz, a permanent document, pakki bát, fixed matter, pakká ád'mi, a strong man.

acchá, as Eng. 'good', may mean fine, nice, honest, gentle, wise, decent, etc.

jiv, a being, an insect, an animal, man, etc.

burál, badness, wickedness, mischief, dishonesty, evil, etc.

Children, savages and primitive people make a broad use of words, as **ám** may mean to them a mango, orange, guava, ball or any other round thing. **dáná** may be used for grain, corn, gram, rice, wheat, etc.

Compounds (generally) and other descriptive names may be attributive and applicable to many objects which possess that quality, as lam'tanga, a stork, a stilt, and in the Punjab 'a man with long legs', 'an ant'; purab, first, east, U. P., Bihar, or Bengal; mohini, a woman, illusion, magic, Visnu.

ANALOGY OR FIGURE. Multiplicity may be due to analogy or a figure of speech, as in-

- (a) dáná, grain, pimple (Punj. a bead); jug'nú, a glow-worm, an ornament; háádí, an earthen vessel, a shade of a lamp.
- (b) củn'ná, to suck, to take out power, cúr honá, to break, to be busy; chán'ná, to sieve, to search; kará, stiff, but karí dhúp, intense heat, kará vacan, harsh words.

POETRICAL PLEONASMS. Variations of meanings particularly increase in rhymed verse, where new meanings of words are suggested to suit a certain rythm or rhyme. rámú (with the suffix -á) would

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suggest inferiority in the person, named Rama (cf. par'sá, par

pik ki madhumay vanshi boli. nác uthi sun alini bholi. arun sahaj pátal bar'sátá. tam par mrdu parág ki roli.

(Mahadevi Varma)

Note bái (wind, rheumatism) meaning 'water', from Skt. váta in ati agádh ati autharan nadi kúp sar bái.

(Bihari)

ABRIDGEMENT. "A very frequent cause of polysemia, which evades foresight and classification, is abridgement. It happens, for example, that of two words primitively associated, the one is suppressed. At this sudden removal the remaining term seems to change its meaning abruptly. In that case it would not be accurate to say that there was either expansion or restriction. The event which has come to pass is of a different nature. Like an heir who becomes the sole owner of a property which had previously been a joint possession, the last survivor succeeds to an entire idiom and absorbs its signification. When once the meanings of the two are combined, they thenceforward constitute a single sign. Now a sign can be cut, clipped or reduced by half, provided it is recognizable, it still fulfils its original function."—Breal.

For a detailed discussion, see the chapter on "Causes of Variations."

Examples-

kháná, to eat, to eat food, and parh'ná, to read, to read a book or lesson, may be used transitively as well as intransitively. sádhu, good, a good man, a mendicant; jeth, eldest, elder brother, husband's elder brother; parisad, a society, Hindi Society; káágres, Congress, A. I. Congress Committee; sammelan, gathering, Hindi Sáhitya Sammelan; bhásá, language, Hindi; kál, time, death (aát'kál), Yama (God of death).

GRAMMATICAL USES. A change of Grammatical function or

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position generally leads to new meanings. This forms the subject of a separate chapter in this treatise.

Examples-

kháná, in kháná paregá as verb 'to eat', kháná paká lo as noun 'meat'.

áp in malá áp (myself), áp caleá (you), Lálá Dhaní Rám acche ád'mi halá, áp (he) ko in bátoá se sarokár nahíá.

diyá in maláne use rupayá diyá (gave), maláne rupayá pheák diyá (away).

par in is súc'ná par main cal pará, (after) and is ki saphál'tá par vah jal uthá, (on account of).

bahut in bahut dudh (much), bahut ad'mi (many).

khoj in us'ki khoj karo in feminine gender—'scarch'; is'ká khoj nahin rahá in masculine gender—'trace'.

it'ne in it'ne ghar (so many houses), it'ne bimár rahe (so much), it'ne meá (in the meantime).

tak in car kos tak (upto) and dekha tak nahin (even).

åge in ghar ke åge (front), ghar se åge (further).

ul'çá in ul'çá karo (turn down), tápú ká ul'çá (opposite) jhil

Compare Punj. cauthá in cauthá ghar, fourth house (adj.), aj cauthá hal, to-day is the fourth mourning day (n.); khatti (n.), carning, (adj.) sour; or Beng. táná (n.), warp, táná (vb.), to pull; or Mar. kattá (n.), beheading, kattá (adj.), staunch.

DIALECTICAL DEVELOPMENTS. Dialects and cognate languages show different developments of the same original word, and sometimes such meanings are accepted in the standard language in all their variety.

thakur, originally, 'god', or 'God', is used for Rajputs in Pahari, Raja in Central India, Brahmin cooks in Bengal, Kshatriyas in east U. P. and Bihar, Barbers in west U. P.

bári, (Skt vátiká), a courtyard, a garden, is used for 'a house' in Bengal, 'a street' in Bombay, 'a field' in the Punjab.

ghori (orig. a mare), a machine for making macaroni (in U. P.), a knight in chess (in Gujrat), a woman of girlish manner (in Bombay), the bridge of a violin (in the Punjab), wooden pincers used in circumcision (in Lahndi), etc.

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plicity of meaning is the fact that the addition of a new signification in no way injures the original meaning. When a meaning developes and forms different associations, the primary meaning still remains generally intact, and around it keep, ever growing in number, the various members of the family.

Even such words, as have practically given up their connection with the original sense in common speech or literature, retain that sense in isolated compounds. Thus, pashu, in common speech, means 'animal'. The original meaning is, however, maintained in pashupati, the lord of souls conceived as cows in charge of a herdsman. rarg in Hindi means 'deer' but the original sinse of 'animal' or 'beast' is retained in mrg'ráj, lion, the king of beass. Similarly the original meaning of pati, lord or chief, now 'husband', may be noted in sabhápati, president, and dal'pati commander.

l. ii. Homonyms.

In the last section we considered the case of a polysemantic word which was originally monosemantic. Modern Hindi contains some six hundred pairs (and sometimes groups) of words identical in sound and spelling but widely differing in origin and meaning. They are called Homonyms. In fact, as Steinthal and Vendryes think, polynymous words as seperate units are also, in effect, homonymous. tar meaning 'wire' and tar meaning 'telegram' should be considered as two words. But it has to be remembered that such polynymous words are semantically closely related. The homonyms form a different semantic class. They are absolutely unrelated in meaning and only phonetically homonymous. They are separate units, indeed.

There is no such distinction in Hindi as that between homographs (words spelt alike) and homophones (words sounding alike but spelt differently). All homophones are homographs and vice versa.

INHERITED. The following types of homonyms may be distinguished. Quite a fair number of homonyms have come down from Sanskrit. Some of these may be of different origins but Hindi literature has inherited them directly from Classical Sanskrit.

HINDI SEMANTICS

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Examples-

bál, boy, hair uttar, North, reply dal, army, leaf

kanak, gold, wheat, an intoxi-

ghan, cloud, an iron club pot, child, boat apavan, without wind or air, a garden planted near the town astri, a soldier (astra, weapon), not a woman.

PHONOLOGICAL. Phonological developments of different words may coincide at a certain stage. The number of such words is very large.

Compare-

- H. kam (Skt. kama, lust, karman, action.
- H. bitá < Skt. vitastá, a measure of length, vyatita, past.
- H. bals < Skt. vayas, age, and vaishya, a caste.
- H. ber Skt. badara, a fruit, vára, turn.
- H. bárí Skt, vátiká, garden, dváriká, a window, vára, turn.
- H. khán, cating, minc, < Skt. khádanam and kháni.
- H. jari, a herb, studded, Skt. jata and jatita.
- H. taná, trunk of a tree, stretched, < Skt. tanu and tanita.
- H. soná, gold, to sleep, < Skt. suvarņa and svapna.
- H. bara, big, a ball of pulse, < Skt. vardhita and vatakah.
- H. baţ'na, to be divided, to wind, an unguent substance, < Skt.
 vantayati, vattati, udvartanam, etc.

Compare Punj. sat, powder, seven, < Skt. sattva, and sapta; and batti, thirty two, wick, < Skt. dvátriáshat, vartiká.

TSM AND TBH. The presence of tsm words in literary Hindi, side by side with the tbh has led to a number of homonymous pairs, as—

bhávaj, sister-in-law (tbh), produced from sentiment (tsm);
bat, twist (tbh), banyan tree (tsm);
sur, tune (tbh), god (tsm);
tal, bottom (tsm), fry (tbh);
tál, time in music (tsm), tank (tbh);
sená, army (tsm), to hatch (tbh).

FOREIGN. Sometimes two foreign words may develop to a form which coincides in sounds, as—

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sayat, time, and perhaps (Per. shayad, and Ar. sa'it): iabán, tongue, and youth, < (Per. zubán, and jawán, cf. Skt. yuvánam).

cain. Eng. 'chain', comfort (Per.) Homonyms of this type are not many. Compare Punj. baint, cane, verses, (Per. bait, and bed).

MIXTURES. Sometimes a loan word may come to have correspondence with a native word. The presence of words from various languages and dialectes in Hindi is an important cause of homonymity. Compare the English and Indo-Aryan coincidence in-

kot. coat, fort bát, boot, gram kes, case, law suit, hair iún, the month of June,

Punj. kát, card, cut

bág, garden, rein badi, evil, dark night rás, rein, a dramatic performance

> ian. life, knowledge hal, solution, plough

batan, button, twist mel, mail, union kunain, quinine and bad-

time, birth tal, stall, avoiding phut, foot, division Compare Persian (including Perso-Arabic) and Indo-Aryan inmál, goods, garland mámá, maid-servant, uncle ray, opinion, prince istri. wife, iron phan, art, hood of a snake iara, a little, old age.

etc., etc.

Compare-

kúcá, lane, (Per. kúcah), a brush Skt. kúrca. bár, trust (Ar. a'et'bár), door - Skt. dvára.

FOLK ETYMOLOGIES. Sometimes homonyms seem to be due to the lowest type of folk etymology, the instinct for making an unfamiliar word look like something familiar. Compare salam misri (cf. also Per. sálam, full, and sálib misrí, a root); sikandar, Alexander and signal; bhay'vad, reign of terror and partnership, (cf. Punj. bháivál); ras'bhari, full of juice and raspberry; hamám dasta, handle of a bathroom and mortar and pestle (Per. hamamdastah, and havan destah); hukum'dar, an officer and sentry's challenge (who comes there?); lát kamandal, Lord Commander, big bucket; an'varsiti, University, Anwar's city.

HINDI SEMANTICS

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POETRICAL HOMONYMS. Poetrical necessities may effect homonyms such as gáuń, village, I may sing; joy, who, see; dháy, having run, nurs. Such examples are very common in Braj poetry.

GRAMMATICAL HOMONYMS. Grammatical developments also sometimes lead to the formation of homonyms.

Compare—

jítá, alive (pp. from jíná), conquered (past tense from jít'ná). tuľná, comparison (n.), to be weighed (verb).

diya, carthen lamp (Skt. dipakah), gave (past tense from dena).

bati, pill (Skt. vatiká), and twisted (pp. fem. from bat'ná), baná, bridegroom (masculine from Skt. vanitá), made (past tense from ban'ná), etc.

Compare Punj. sittá, corn-ear, thrown (from sit'ná, to throw); kahí, what sort of, spade

1. iii. Apparent Homonyms.

A kind of association springs up between words which, without being homonyms, have some accidental resemblance in form or meaning, or in both. Such an association may bring about curious changes in sound and sense. The products of folk etymology are striking examples of this phenomenon.

One word sometimes develops such apparently different meanings that its original identity becomes rather obscured, and even a difference of spelling may result. Such words are in reality polynymous words.

Compare-

dand meaning punishment
and salute
artha meaning wealth and
significance
nak, nose, honour

nishment dán meaning stick and mound salute mound significance kar, hand, tax mahar meaning chief and porter.

Also see Concatenation.

Words which come to assume opposite meanings may also be sometimes confused as homonyms.

POLYSEMY

1. iv.

Examples-

mithá, sweet, salt (in Eastern U. P.); bhabhút, wealth, ashes; máhur, poison, sweet.

The main cause of apparent or confused homonymy is the loss of connection between the different meanings of words. By discovering the bond of connection and by tracing the missing links in the relationship of words, we are able to remove the illusion and see that words of this type are not homonyms at all.

1. iv. Paronyms.

Paronyms are words which have identity neither of sounds nor or etymology, but have a tendency to phonetic correspondence in particular localities or in the speech of particular persons. Examples—

korá for korá, blank, and koh'rá, fog.
merá for merá, mine, melá, fair.
gadá for gad'há, ass, gadá, club, gaddá, cushion.
dáná for dáná, grain, and dáná (with accent on -ná), wisc.
gar'ná for gar'ná, to be set, garh'ná, to make.
karam for Skt. karma, and krama, order.
kathá for kathá, story, katthá, catechu.
maldá for maidá, flour, medá, stomach.
bálú for bálú, sand, bhálú, bear.
racá for racá, made, and rcá, Vedic hymn.
jantá for jantá, machine or mill, jantá, public, etc.

Bad pronunciation and phonetic irregularities such as singling of a double consonant, svarabhakti, change of accent, de-aspiration, etc. turn these paronyms into homonyms.

Also compare Punjabi-

tap, to jump (Skt. tarpa), tub. lát, lord, tail of a lamb (cf. láth). kattá for khattá, sour, and kattá, calf. báj for bás, hawk, and báhaj, without, etc.

Pathans and Kashmiris make a large number of homonyms out of paronyms on account of their inability to utter aspirates. Bengalis, Garhawalis, and Gujratis, in particular, confuse Hindi sounds and consequently confuse meanings of words.

HINDI SEMANTICS

2. EFFECTS OF POLYSEMY.

(i) ENRICHMENT OF VOCABULARY.

DIFFERENTIATION BY CONTEXT — GRAMMATICAL USE — PHONETICAL VARIATION.

(ii) AMBIGUITY.

JOCULARITY — VAGUENESS — REPORTED SPEECH — BAD STYLE — LITERARY STYLE.

- (iii) MORTALITY OF WORDS.
- (iv) CONTAMINATION OF MEANING.
- (v) New GREATIONS.

2. i. Enrichment of Vocabulary.

When we realize that the creation of new words is the most difficult task for a speaker, we feel the importance of polysemy as an elaborate and easy means of expressing our ideas.

Polysemy is a very important source of the enrichment of our language. We may say of any word of a living speech that it is a symbol not only of one idea, but of a series of related ideas. This shows that polysemic words are as numerous as the senses they convey.

Though phonetically identical, these words are different and distinguishable in meaning. Bhartthari mentions eight important factors in the determination of their meaning, namely, connection, separation, accompaniment, contradiction, sense, context, gender, and proximity with other words. These factors may be reduced to two, namely, gender and context, the other factors being simply a few kinds of context, as we shall see below.

The meaning of polysemantic words is, in fact, distinguished by (i) context, (ii) grammatical function, and (iii) phonetical variation.

DIFFERENTIATION BY CONTEXT. As words are always placed in surroundings which predetermine their import, every word in common use has a fixed meaning, which is, as a rule, easily comprehensible either from the context or from its connection with some other words.*

^{*}arthaprakaranabhyam va prayogacchabdantarena va.—Vakyapadiya.

1f1 POLYSEMY 2. i.

Compare.

kháte in ve kháte halá, they cat, mere kháte meá, in my account.

jal in jal pi lo, drink water, ág jal uthi, the fire burnt up, diyá jal rahá hai, the lamp is lighting (not actually burning).

shishá in kanghi shishá, means 'mirror', in khir'ki ká shishá, a glass-pane and shishe ká gilás, glass only.

patti in patti parhai means 'an advice', patti bandhi, a bandage, khet men adhi patti, share, balon ki patti, partition of hair, patti kha lo, a sweetmeat mixed with rice, etc.

Skt. pakṣa in ciriyon ke pakṣa, the wings of birds, sena ke pakṣa, contingents of the army, hamare pakṣa men, on our side, bhadon ke krṣṇa pakṣa men, during the dark fortnight of Bhadon month.

It has been generally recognised that context is an important factor in the fixation of meaning. Often a very little of the context is enough. Note the varying meanings of já in vah já rahá hal, he is going, sabhá hone já rahí hal, the meeting is about to be held.

Connection, Proximity, Accompaniment and Sense of Bhartrharismay also be considered here. In him'giri sang jani janu maina (Ramayan), maina refers to 'Parvati's mother' and not to the Myna bird, on account of its connection with him'giri, the Himalaya, the father of Parvati. In var-vadhu, var means 'husband', not 'a boon', and in acar ya murabba, acar means 'pickles', not 'conduct', on account of the accompanying words. In aj mel doghante let hai, mel means a 'mail train' (not 'union'), as its proximity with other words denotes. On account of the common sense prevailing between the speaker and the listener, pita ji agaye means 'our father has come', and lao to the servant means at once 'bring my shoes'.

Contradiction and Separation of word-meaning suggestion are also conveyed by context. Compare, in ágá yá píchá, ágá means 'front' (not 'a Muslim merchant', as suggested by its antonym, píchá, back). In uttar mr dakṣiņ, uttar means 'north', (not reply) on account of its separation from dakṣiņ, south. All

^{*}Vákyapadíya, II, 316-17.

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antonymous words directly suggest the meaning of one another. Compare choṭá mr baṛá, small and big, though baṛá also means 'a ball of pulse', soná jág'ná, sleep and rise, though soná also means 'gold'.

GRAMMATICAL USE. Polysemic words, especially the homonyms (vide also pp. 108 above), are usually distinguished by difference of grammatical function, as ám, mango (as a noun), common (as an adjective); kul means 'all' (as an adjective) and 'family' (as a noun); par means 'wing' (as a noun), 'on' (as a postposition), and 'but' (as conjunction); kháná means 'meal' (as a noun) and 'to eat' (as an infinitive); khoj, search, (in feminine gender) and trace (in masculine gender), or, direction, (fem.) and bank (masc.), etc.

PHONETICAL VARIATION. By change of intonation (accent, stress or pitch) in certain cases, we can interpret meanings with accuracy. há may express surprise, indignation, pain, terror, joy, compassion, or agreement, by varied modulation of voice. jiji means 'elder sister' and with a punctuation between ji and ji, it means an emphatic 'yes'. In the first case the stress is on the first syllable and in the second it is even. gadá with the stress on the initial syllable means 'club', and with the stress on the final syllable it means 'a beggar'. kutará the acacia tree, and kut'rá, puppy; jilá, district, jilá, revive, etc. Such polysemic words, it may be noted, exist only in written language and are turned into distinct units by phonetic differentiation in spoken form.

2. ii. Ambiguity.

JOCULARITY. It may have to be admitted, anyhow, that in spite of various means which make polysemantic words distinct in the linguistic consciousness of a speaker and a listener, there can be misunderstanding of meaning. As language is at best an imperfect instrument, the conventionally symbolic nature of words holds open the door to error. At times terms are clear-cut and precise, at others they are allusive and ambiguous. Language has its playful freaks and exuberent moments. Polysemy is a fruitful source of puns, jokes and other striking expressions of a play on words also.

Examples-

pitá jí, mátá jí áp ko kháne ke liye bulá rahí halá, may mean that the mother wants to eat the father or that the mother wants the father to come and take his meals. bas ab ham eal pare, may be interpreted as 'Now we go', or 'Now I die'. áp kab de? hameń áe ho gaye tis baras, clearly suggests that the speaker means to ask when that person came. The listener interprets it differently and replies: "I was born (I came here) thirty years back". ham piche se khá leáge, I shall take my food afterwards, may be jocularly interpreted as 'I shall take my food from behind, i.e. through the anus'.

Vulgar people frequently enjoy ambiguous language, which is generally made indecent and indecorous. Some people become over-jocular and try to show ambiguity where there is none. They twist words and pretend. We often hear people saying: I thought you said this.

Examples-

háy sáhab mar gaye, Alas! the Sahib is dead; or alas, Sir, I am dead. roko mat jáne do, 'stop, don't let him go', or 'don't stop, I:t him go. merá na terá, 'mine, not yours', or 'neither mine nor yours', or 'yours, not mine'. Punctuation definitely distinguishes meanings in sentences, but a listener may at times like to distort a correct statement. Some listeners try to indulge in jocularity even with paronyms by making them, or pretending to hear them as homonyms. ám par mor á gayá hai, a peacock has come up on the mango tree, or, the mango tree has blossomed. sálá bard hai, the school is closed, or the wretched thing 'abusive sálá) is closed.

Misunderstanding often occurs in a given context between words which belong to the same grammatical category and to the same sphere of ideas.

Examples-

ek tolá acár le áná, bring one tola of pickles or one earthen vesseltul of pickles. In ek gadá dekhá thá málúm nahíú kaháú gayá, gadá as a paronym, may be interpreted to mean 'an ass', or 'a cushion'. ghar se bát kareáge, I shall talk to you (say, on the telephone, from my house, 'or I shall talk to my wife. dáád tút gayá, the stick is broken, or the land-mark is broken.

VAGUENESS. Ambiguity in meaning also grows out of relations

to be characterised. This ambiguity inheres in Hindi adjectives and adverbs, although it is present also in certain nouns and verbs. nayá makán may mean 'a modern house' or 'a new house'. yaháá kann rah'tá hai may mean 'who lives in this house', or 'who lives in the world i.e. every one dies'. ab bure din hain may refer to the current year, the present century, or even the Kali Yuga (Age). vah khel'tá hai may mean 'he plays at this moment' or 'he has the capacity of playing.

REPORTED SPEECH. Hindi presents ambiguity also in reported speech as it does not make distinctions between direct and indirect narration. us'ne mujhe kahá ki merá bhatíjá pás ho gayá may mean: His nephew passed, or my nephew passed. us'ne batáyá ki pitá jí bímár halá may imply that the father was ill or that he is (even now) ill.

BAD STYLE. Ambiguity often results from bad style and an improper use of words, as in yárop wir eshiá meń bará yuddha hogá, which may mean 'there will be a war between Europe and Asia' or 'There will be a war in Europe and Asia'. rájá ko ap'nákar chor'ná nahíń cáhiye means 'The king after owning a prson should not desert him' while the writer wanted to say: rájá ko ap'ná kar chor'ná nahíń cáhiye. i.e. the king must collect his tax.

LITERARY STYLE. In literature, which is more conscious of the polysemantic nature of words than colloquial language, ambiguity exists in a rich variety. Even scholars may differ in their interpretation of a given passage, as the following—

paintis koți sutăsut tere argha carhâne âte hain, Here sută sut may mean daughters and sons (sută and sut) or good sons as well as bad sons (sut, asut).

jasodá bár bár yah bhákhal.

hai koi brij men hitu hamaran calat gopalai rakhai.

Here bar bar may mean 'many times', 'from door to door', 'O my child, O my child?' or 'every hair of hers'.

Two of the most important figures of speech, namely Paronomasia (shleşa) and Equivoque (vakrokti), with their varieties, are based on polysemy. Drstakutas of Sur'dás are verses of this type.

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The well known conversation between Krspa and Rádhá and that between Laksmi and Párvati are instances of the conscious, but masterful, employment of polysemy.

Yamaka or Analogue is another figure based on polysemy. In ján'ki dehu to ján'ki khair, note the homonyms ján'ki, Sita, and ján ki, of life. bahí bahí phiri bahí citra w gupitra ki, i.e., the ledger book (bahí) of Citra and Gupitra kept floating (bahí bahí) in the Ganges.

For more examples please refer to any book on Hindi Alankáras.

2. iii. Mortality of Words.

As the result of ambiguity language becomes vague, and speakers may feel obliged to substitute for such a word some cognate term of more exact and specific meaning. Listeners doubt the sincerity of a person who uses ambiguous language.

The main function of language is to convey meaning, and if this is not accomplished, ambiguous terms become obsolete. Polysemy is one of the important causes of word-mortality.

Most of the Sanskrit words of this nature have either died out or become monosemic. Compare ari, mrņāla, karkah, and go, gati, kāla, asura, etc.,

Homonyms, in general, may injure the frequency of form. Often accidental phonetic resemblance would awaken undesirable associations. For example, when speech forms become homonymous with tabu forms, the former sense is disfavoured. It is a remarkable fact that the tabu-word itself is much more tenacious of life than the harmless homonym. The word ghanta, bell, is avoided, as it is readily taken to mean 'penis', laath is no longer used to mean 'stick', as it is invariably associated with vulgarity and means 'a rude fellow'. ghus gayá, entered, is avoided as it is generally taken in bad sense. So also Punjabi var, enter. Dogri, Punjabi Impa, boy, excites laughter as it is usually understood to denote 'penis'. Rajasthani phoki, hollow, is a vulgarism as it has come to signify 'the female private organ'. We remember giggling at the Skt. words cata (phal), mango, which in Hindi means 'female organ', and codate, urges, which now means 'to copulate' in cod'ná. Urdu lan'taráni, boasting, we used to read with a suppressed voice as lam in Punjabi means 'penis'.

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It will be noted that of all forms of polyscmantic terms, polynymous words have the lowest mortality. That is why our language is so rich in expression to-day.

2. iv. Contamination of Meaning.

Though comparatively rarely, different meanings of a word may be blended into a new semanteme. This phenomenon has the same psychological basis as contamination of synonyms. The listener, in the act of comprehending a word, is reminded of more than one meaning at a time. These usually do not suggest themselves, as to every hearer each word has a single predominant meaning. Secondary meanings of a word cannot naturally be blended. Words which have more than one primary meaning alone may tend to be contaminated occasionally.

Examples-

jál meaning 'trick', 'fraud' is a compromise between jál, net, and Ar. ja'l counterfeit. baád, a slave, a prisoner, has resulted from Per. baád, shut, and Skt. bandhana, bondage. yár in Punjabi means 'a paramour', although Per. yár means 'a friend', but Skt. jára is an illegitimate husband.

2. v. New Creations.

When polysemantic words become useless as vehicles of thought, words with definite and distinct meanings come to take their place. Examples of this phenomenon may be seen in the section on Phonetic Change for Semantic Change (pp. 70 ff). Sometimes old and obsolete words may be revived for their distinctive quality. Most of the revivals from Sanskrit are induced by this motive. It may also be noted that such words are not monosemantic, as kantak, thorn (in Hindi), and 'finger nail', 'thorn', 'fishbone', 'bamboo', 'fault', etc. (in Sanskrit); khal, wicked (in Hindi) and 'earth', 'mill', 'wicked', 'sun', 'thorn apple' (in Sanskrit); granth, book (in Hindi) and book, wealth, binding (in Sanskrit), etc.

More frequently, however, words are modified phonetically and given clear-cut significations for which see the last chapter.





1. NATURE OF SYNONYMY.

- (i) DEFINITION OF A SYNONYM.
- (ii) THE FOUR STAND-POINTS.
- (iii) THREE VARIETIES OF SYNONYMITY

1. i. Definition of a Synonym.

It is very hard to describe 'Synonyms'. They are described as "words of like significance (samarthak) in the main, but also with a certain unlikeness as well, with very much common, but also with somewhat private and peculiar." Ordinarily, both in popular literary acceptation, and as employed in special dictionaries of such words, synonyms are words sufficiently alike in general signification to be liable to be confounded but yet so different in special definition as to require to be distinguished. This means that synonyms are words whose significations partly agree and partly disagree.

Webster's definition of a synonym is as follows: "A noun or other word having the same signification as another is its synonym. Two words containing the same idea are synonymous."

If this is accepted as a definition, Eng. 'love' and Skt. prema, and Eng. 'boy,' Ger. knabe, Skt. bálaka and H. lap'ká are synonyms.

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Strictly speaking they are equivalents and not synonyms. Again, dar, fear, daráv'ná, frightful, dar'pok, timid, dar'ná, to fear, should be synonymous, as they contain the same idea. But, it may be noted that their grammatical usage is different. Moreover, it has been generally accepted that no two words of the same signification actually exist in any one particular language.

The New English Dictionary (Oxford) gives a better definition. The synonym, it says, is "strictly, a word having the same sense as another (in the same language), but more usually, either or any of two or more words (in the same language) having the same general sense, but possessing each of the meanings which are not shared by the other or others, or having different shades of meanings or implications appropriate to different contexts." It is essential that synonymous words as such should exist in the same language. It may also be added that they must belong to the same gram matical class. This is a very widely accepted definition of a synonym. Yet there is a serious objection even against this. Three or more words may be arranged in couples, the members of each pair having a closer affinity with each other than with the rest, and the various couples being mutually connected by each member appearing in two of them at the same time, as in—

cal'ná, to go, and phir'ná, to move; phir'ná and mur'ná, to turn; mur'ná and cakkar kát'ná, to go round; cakkar kát'ná and cakkar kháná, to revolve; cakkar kháná and cak'ráná, to be puzzled; cak'ráná, and ghab'ráná, to be embarassed, etc.

But compare cal'ná to go, and ghab'ráná to be embarassed. The two are very widely different in meaning.

Also vidh'vá, and ránd, widow; ránd and randi, widow, prostitute; randi and veshyá, prostitute; veshyá and sadá suhágin, one whose husband lives ever; sadásuhágin and smbhágyavatí, lucky; saubhágyavatí, and sukhí, happy; sukhí and khush, glad.

But compare vidh'vá, widow, and khush, glad. The two are very widely different in meaning as well as grammar.

As may be gathered by this last example, all the various words of a language could be treated as synonyms, if only the connecting chain is made long enough, and the interval filled up by the requisite links. In this united universe, where everything is part of a

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whole, no two notions can be entirely dissociated.

However, practical reasons forbid to give the term this wide and meaningless signification. We restrict conveniently the term 'synonyms' to the most nearly allied ideas. Synonyms, we agree, are WORDS OF ALMOST IDENTICAL MEANING OR COMMON 'CORE-SENSE' BUT WITH A CERTAIN SHADE OR NUANCE OF DIFFERENCE.

1. ii. The Four Stand-points.

Even this, we shall see, does not present a complete picture of a synonym. There are four stand-points from which a synonym may and must be handled by a student of Semantics. These four, if a sound synthesis is desired, are the following—

- (a) The etymologist's outlook;
- (b) The literary man's outlook;
- (c) The layman's outlook;
- (d) The dialectical speaker's outlook.

The above definition, viz., words of identical 'core-sense' in the main but with a certain unlikeness as well, concerns only the literary man. For the layman there is absolutely no difference between **prthvi** and **bhámi** (earth), for instance. He uses several words indiscriminately to denote one and the same thing or idea. To avoid repetition of words in his speech, or all or written, he employs others to convey the same sense. Even the literary man, keen to find, or conscious of, a small difference of meaning, sometimes stoops to the educated layman's conception. The language of poetry and, in a less degree, of written prose, demands a store of synonyms on which an author can draw at will, thereby forming an individual style and avoiding monotony.

With all this, the educated man does not always ignore the discrimination between allied words. He does differentiate between cal'ná and jáná, to go, for instance. He is helped and influenced by the literary man, to a great extent, by the etymologist and the lexicographer. It is the lexicographer's business to differentiate all such words of language. From his view-point, b-tween words commonly classed as synonyms there is always some difference in suggestion or in area of meaning, however subtle, slight, or difficult to define. When one form has been used, a second or third form

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cannot be employed in the same sense. Few are the words that can be set down as exact equivalents in any language. For the etymologist **prthvi** and **bhúmi** are only allied words, not synonymous in the strict sense of the term.

In dialect the number of synonyms, in the strict sense of the term, is inappreciable because the stock of words of one particular dialect is so limited and usage so traditionally fixed that there is little scope for synonymity.

The semantician will have to evaluate all synonymous words from these four standpoints. prthvi and bhúmi are not synonymous to an etymologist. But his outlook ends with the Rgveda. In the Rgveda prthvi occurs as an attribute of bhúmi (prthu, the broad, bhúmi, substance), but in the Yajurveda prthvi becomes a substantive so that the sentence rasamayi prthvi occurs there. Here the etymologist vacates his position for the literary man. For the Yajurvedic literary man prthvi has become a real synonym for bhúmi and he has no distinct view of the literal meaning of prthvi.

From the dialectical speaker's standpoint there is only one word for mosquito, namely macchar (Punjab), macchar (U.P.), dáńs (Gujrat), or mashá (Bengal). From the layman's view-point macchar and macchar, or macchar and dáńs, or dáńs and mashá are synonymous. To the literary man all these four words are interchangeable and identical, though he knows where to use which. The etymologist understands fully that mashá (Skt. mashakah) relates to its buzzing sound, macchar (Skt. matsara) is due to its wicked and hostile nature and dáńs, which is a general term, on account of its sting. macchar and macchar are dialectical.

A literary man's consciousness of differentiation in the meaning of synonymous words has often resulted in fineness of diction, exactness of communicability of thought, subtleness of style, and masterliness of language. The Riti poets of the later mediaeval period in Hindi were particularly proficient in the choice of words, and critics have explained how impossible it is to replace even a single word in the whole couplet of Bihari, for example, or in the poetry of Dev, Das, Padmakar or Senapati, besides many others, without impairing the sense of its author or without spoiling the intrinsic beauty of the work. It is generally claimed that the workmanship

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of Prasad's 'Kamayani' (an epic poem of modern times) lies mainly in its semantic discrimination based on the right choice of words which are irreplaceable and indispensable. Often, a critic who is more etymological than the writer himself has succeeded in demonstrating his own pedantry, rather than the ingenuity of that writer.

Anyhow, whether it is the critic's explanation or the conscious application of the author, a study of such words would be extremely interesting for a student of Hindi synonymy.

1. iii. Three Varieties of Synonymity.

It would, indeed, be a life study to prepare a full evaluation of all words in any language—how far a word is a perfect synonym as from an educated layman's viewpoint, how far a word is only allied to another and not at all synonymous as from an etymologist's or a scholastic poet's viewpoint, or, how far words are partly synonymous and only partly allied as is the actual case in an advanced language. Synonyms are, thus, of three kinds.

A. Absolute synonyms i.e. words absolutely coincident or words which can be used interchangeably in almost all contexts, as-

vastra, and kap'rá, cloth bhiru, and dar'pok, timid lator

chává, and chánh, shade kaidi, and bandi, prisoner gokhá, and jharokhá, venti- kám'dev, and madan, Cupid

váyu, and pavan, wind cáci, and káki, aunt nikat, and samip, near shit, and sar'di, cold; etc., etc.

We shall discuss in the next article the causes of growth of such equivalent words in Hindi. It has to be noted that, in general, such words are nouns, naturally because we have mostly borrowed noun-words from languages other than Hindi.

B. Partial synonyms i.e. differing in sense in some contexts but equivalent in other places. They may be divided into two categories -(1) words that were originally synonymous but later differentiated. kuli (from Tamil) and maz'dur (from Persian) have the same meaning. But usage has confined the kuli to a porter, especially at railway stations, and max'dur to a labourer, a general worker employed to carry loads, dig the field or clean your house. Eng. 'school' and П

Skt. páthashálá have had the same denotation. But in course of time, a 'school' has come to mean 'a general teaching institution', while páth'shálá connotes a Sanskrit institution, indigenous school or a school for girls. ríti now means 'custom of a formal or religious kind' riváj, an established custom in a group, and cál, general conduct of individuals or multitudes.

The following terms, for example, were used differently in Sanskrit, and are still so used by careful speakers and learned writers. But for all practical purposes they have almost approximated in meaning.

dukh and khed; although actually the latter is a stronger term for misery in despair.

dil, hrday, man, and ji. In fact, dil is the pulsating organ called the heart, hrdaya is the abstract heart, man is the mind and ji < jiva, life, soul.

ghor, terrific, atyanta, limitless, bará, big, bahut, much, have become convertible in several phrases.

C. Indefinite synonyms, i.e. words which are either perfectly different but loosely used as synonyms or generally synonymous but differentiated by scholars. Examples of the first type are—cznki and kur'si for chair, although the two are quite different in form and use; churi and cákú for knife, although cákú is foldable. Examples of the second type are—dayá mercy for the needy and the depressed, and krpá, kindness for the youngers, an obligation. anveşan, anusandhán, gaveş'ná, and khoj have, so far, been used indiscriminately for search or research. But a distinction has been attempted to fix anveşan for exploration, gaveş'ná for research, anusandhán for investigation, and khoj for discovery (vide 'Shabda Sádhaná' by Shri R. C. Varma, p. 103); kalah and jhag'rá' are used as equivalents, but it is insisted that kalah is discord and jhag'ra is quarrel.

It has to be admitted, as a rule, that synonymous words become equivalents in some contexts and different in signification in some other contexts on account of the polysemantic values of those words, which we have already discussed in the previous chapter. Their alliances vary with variations in their meanings. bharak'ná, to flare up, is equivalent to jal uth'ná, but bharak'ná, to get excited, is synonymous with uttejit honá, and bharak'ná, to get startled, means cunák'ná. Now consider the position of jal uth'ná, uttejit honá and cunák'ná which have extremely distant relationship.

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SOURCES OF SYNONYMY.

- (i) BILINGUALISM.
- (ii) CULTURAL DISTINCTION.
- (iii) DESCRIPTIVE NAMES.
- (iv) EPITHETS.
- (v) Onomatopoeias.
- (vi) Mythology and Superstition.
- (vii) SEMANTIC CONVERGENCE.
- viii) Figures.
- 'ix) PARAPHRASE.
- (x) LITERARY STYLE.
- (xi) SYNONYMY IN PROPER NAMES.
- XII : NEGATION OF ANTONYMS.

2. i. Bilingualism.

The acceptance of a word from another language where a native word already existed is an important source of synonymy in a composite language like Hindi. The conquered classes are obliged to idopt words from the language of the conquerors. Authors, familiar with many tongues, use words which are luxuries, not necessities. Borrowings from cognate dialects and neighbouring languages are also fairly common. Various tribes, each with its own dialect, kindred, indeed, but in many respects distinct, coalesce into one people and desiring to form a *lingua franca* cast their contributions into a common stock. The following equivalents may be compared—

bád'sháh (Per.), rájá (tsm.),
king
khar (Per.), gad'há (Hindi),
ass
sher (Per.), siáha (Skt.), lion
nafá (Ar.), lábha (Skt.), profit
cácí Punjab and U. P.), kákí (Eastern U. P., Bihar, Bengal
and Bombay, aunt
dádá, bábá, ájá (nursery words from various dialects), grandfather

angochá (tbh.), gam'chá (as far as Allahabad), a napkinrogá and kańkar (both onom.), pebble.

más (tsm.), cáhá (onom.), rat. bak'rá (onom), chág (stsm.), goat. bhit, bhitti, bhiti (dialectical), wall.

santará (Port.), náraági (Per.) orange.

Sometimes we have triplicates and even quintriplicates. Compare-

bhit, bhitti, bhiti, dival for a wall;

mástar, adhyápak, pádhá, upádhyáy, paúdit jí for Schoolmaster:

pirá, pir. vyathá, bithá, darda for pain ;

mál'dár, amír, dhani, dhan'ván, dhan'válá, seth, mahájan, sáhúkár, kothi válá for a rich man ; etc.

There is always a tendency among literate classes to use learned words, Sanskrit, Persian or English, in their speech. People pick them up for fashion. In literature, especially, such words are commonly used side by side with colloquial words. Examples of synonymous words from Persian (including Perso-Arabic) are-

aj'gar (stsm.), aj'dahá (Ar.)

sánp (tbh.), sarpa (tsm), snake

python maina (H.), sáriká (Skt.), Myna bird

laddú (H.), modaka (Skt.), a kind of sweetmeat

cyńńti (H.), pipiliká (Skt.),

jug'nú (H.), khadyota (Skt.), glow-worm

af'sar (Eng.), hákim (Per.), adhikárí (Skt.), officer.

It may also be noted that the popular word is at times foreign, but it is often replaced in literary Hindi by the native one. Compare-

jaldi (Per.), shighra (Skt.), agar (Per.), yadi (Skt.), if at once

kabúl'ná, svíkár kar'ná, to jarár (Per.), avashya (Skt.), accept, to admit

bimár (Per.), rogi (Skt.), ill, patient.

The use of Sanskrit words in such cases is less extensive. More examples are-

árám, vishrám, rest inám, puraskár, prize kamar, kati, waist maniur, svikrt, accepted

házir, upasthit, present daftar, káryálay, office nakla, anukaran, imitation kharca, vyaya, expenditure phaláná, amuk, so-and-so hissa, bhag, part.

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Sometimes the popular form is native but the literary Hindi prefers a foreign word.

Compare-

je (or jo), ki (Per.), that jane, ád'mi (Per.), men.

Literate persons show this preference even in their day-to-day speech, as—

Eng. 'wife' to patni, 'father' to pitá or báp.

Muslim speakers generally use a number of Persian words and Christians English words, although common words are either tatsamas or tadbhavas.

Sometimes vulgarisms or popular forms are translated to give them a literary or cultural tinge. See 2. ii. below.

Sometimes learned words are coined, and foreign words, though popular, are translated.

haváí jaháj = váyuyán, aeroplane prográm = káryakram, programme ráy = anumati, opinion klarka = lekhak, clerk ummid'vár = padárthi, candidate.

The impact of European culture has necessitated this tendency in almost all fields of our activities including literature, philosophy, history, science and even religion.

It may be repeated that our contact with foreign languages, especially Perso-Arabic and English, and the revival of Sanskrit in Hindi vocabularies has been an important factor for synonymy in our language. A large number of partial or absolute synonymous words have been established in general usage in Sanskrit. Hindi inherited these words and their usages as such. The 'Amara Koşa' enumerates them rather elaborately. A reference may be made to words for cow, lotus, cloud, sun, moon, cupid, mountain, eye, body, cat, monkey, horse, thief, Brahmana, wife, wood, wine, gold, etc. Most of these words are being used as complete synonyms in Hindi.

A very large number of tatsamas and their tadbhava forms co-exist as absolute synonyms.

The tatsamas are the property of learned classes and tadbhavas of the common folk.

Examples-

karņa, kán, car kaņņak, kánņi, thorn gaur, gorā, white kustha, korh, leprosy kumác, kváárá, bachelor gambhír, gahará, deep 11

granthi, gánth, knot
candramá, cánd, moon
tikena, tikhá, sharp
dugdha, dúdh, milk
nrtya, nác, dance
nidrá, nind, sleep
parikeá, parakh, test
vyághra, bágh, tiger
báhu, bánh, arm
muktá, moti, pearl
bhikeá, bhikh, alms
súrya, súraj, sun
sandhyá, sánih, evening

grám, gánv, village
cancu, conc, beak
dípak, díyá, lamp
daksiu, dáhiná, right
nagna, nangá, naked
prahar, pahar, period
vindu, búnd, drop
vrddha, buddhá, old
bhramar, bhilliná, bee
váspa, bháp, steam
megh, meh, cloud
satya, sac, truth
svarpa, soná, gold

etc., etc.

A list of Persian (including Arabic) words that have become synonymous with Indian words in current Hindi is given in an appendix. It may be pointed out that the future of these Persian words is uncertain, though some of them have a sure chance of survival on account of their (a) greater signification, (b) better expressiveness, (c) finer semantic value, or (d) commoner use.

2. ii. Cultural Distinction.

Use of different words by different classes is, as noted above, another cause of synonymy. The following words used by Hindus and Muslims separately may be noted. Some of these are partial synonyms.

ar'thi, janázá, bier ammá, ammi, mother ishvar, alláh, God pitá, báp, abbá, father bhoj, valimá, feast gath bandhan, akda,

mmsi, khálá, aunt
up'desh, váz, sermon
krpá, fazal, grace of God
brat, rozá, fast
páth, talávat, recitation of the
scriptures

matrimony jiji, báji, sister shukravár, jummá, Friday som'vár, pir, Monday. tar'kári, sálan, curry jijá, dúlhá bhái, brother-inlaw

Some words have lower or higher spheres of culture. The

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vocabulary of rustic person includes such words as pád'ná, to break wind, hag'ná, to secrete, gánh, secreta, jorá, wife, meharárá, woman, imnádá, boy, imnádiyá, girl, which educated cultured classes usually avoid, and use, instead, havá chop'ná, shime kar'ná or tatti kar'ná, việthá or mailá, patní, imrat, lap'ká, lap'kí, etc.

Also see Euphemism in the following pages.

2. iii. Descriptive Names.

The characteristic merit of the Sanskrit vocabulary, and, for the matter of that, of modern Hindi as of other old Aryan languages, is that words are mostly significant. In some languages synonyms are fewer, as the single word for an idea is often without any grammatical connotation, so to say. It merely denotes a thing, e.g. earth. water, sky, etc. in the English language. But in Sanskrit even simple words like prthvi, akasha, jala, manuşya, surya, sarpa, etc have a rational etymological explanation. Thus prthvi, means the vast one, jala, the cold substance, ákásha, the luminous expanse, manusya, the thinking being, surva, the moving planet, and sarpa, the creeping being. Although it may be said that the etymological sense is never present in the mind of the common speaker, the manufacturers of words do bear it in mind. If we take into account various synonyms of a word (and almost every word has a large or small number of these), we can recover all that was in the mind of the first speakers about the particular substance (or action) indicated by the word. These ideas have, of course, not been always the same. The Vedic people had, for example, notions about the earth or water or sky which do not all occur to the classical or mediaeval or modern thinker, while others which did not occur to the Vedic people, are prominent in later stages of human .thought. Gold is hema, ayas, as it is attractive, hiranyam, hatakam, as it is the yellow stuff, loham, as it is red, candra, kanak, as it is shining, amrtam, as it is indestructible, kancana, as it is fresh in colour and játarápa, as it is ornamental. The sky pervades (viyata) and covers (ambara), it is a vast expanse (puşkara), it shines (ákásha) and is scen in space (autariksa). Night is unctuous (naktá) and wavy (armya) and deceitful (doga). It is twin with the day (yamini). The day covers the sky (vásara) and is luminous (dina).

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Words express the relations of things and the relations of things are almost infinite, and especially must they seem so to the delicate sense of the youthful world. It is not essentially the most conspicuous feature of a thing that is taken into account in giving a name to it. It may be a feature which first strikes the attention of a man. The tree is called vrksa as it is cut, padap as it takes food from roots. mahiruh as it grows on the ground, shakhi on account of its branches, drum for its wood, per on account of its trunk (pinda) and Bengali and Eastern Hindi gach for its progressive movement. Punjabi rukh which means 'shining' (ruksa). Similarly the sea is called abdhi or udadhi as it is an expanse of water. paravar as it is limitless, ratnákar as it is a mine of gems, and samudra as it pervades or as it rises. In Hindi, an insect is called kird as it is tinged according to its surroundings (Skt. Vkit. to colour), pataged as it becomes one with the leaf (patranga); bhun'ga as it moves about on the ground (bhumigah), or as it moves on arms (cf. bhujanga. a surpent), and so on. The peg is called khunti as it is protected. tang'ri as it is used for hanging things, and kil as it may also be used to close a hole. Betrothal is called mang'ni as relationship is thus demanded (mang'na), and sagai as it makes the relations real (sagá). Punj. kur'mái as it means the foundation of a family (kutumba). The marriage party is called barát < Skt. varayátrá. bridegroom's journey and janeti as it consists of men, Punj. janj < Skt. janya, relation.

A thing thus begins to acquire more and more designations along with the advancement of knowledge. Synonymous words, at first define different aspects of a thing. But in course of time each one of them comes to denote it in all its aspects. When each of the words is coined, its especial signification is felt and intended. If at a later date the especial colouring is lost from consciousness, and nothing more is thought of than the general notion or the whole object, we arrive at synonyms.

2. iv. Epithets.

Sometimes names are given to things in particular circumstances. But in course of time those names lose their peculiar application and become common. Thus shir'ld vaham, the vehicle of Sitla Devi,

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kálápání, the black water, and shiw'bátí, Siva's herb, have become synonymous with gad'há, an ass, desh'nikálá, exile, and bhaág, hemp drug, respectively. thákur, master, and nái, barber, have become synonymous. Compare the word 'master' being used for a tailor. Flattering words like svámí, lord, for sádhu, mendicant, bahishtí, heavenly, for másh'kí, water-carrier, halál'khor, legitimate carner, for meh'tar, great man, and jamádár, a military officer, for bhaágí, sweeper, are notable examples.

2. v. Onomatopoeias.

Even onomatopoeic words, we have noted, may be synonymous, as they start with describing various impressions, received by a listener. Thus bis'bisáná, baj'bajáná, to ferment.

bhas'bhasá, thal'thalá, flabby

sațar'pațar, and band,

rorá, kańkar, pebble thanak, casak, to jingle khańkh, chúńchá, barren thak'thakáná, khat'-

khatáná, to knock.

Onomatopoeic words may become synonymous with conventional words.

Compare-

dhadhak, 180, flames dham'káná, daráná, to frighten dharádhar, lagátár, continuo dhasak, íreyá, jealousy

thap'ki, shábásh, encourage-

ment, etc.

2. vi. Mythology and Superstition.

Mythology and superstition have played an important part in multiplying the names of objects.

Examples—

mrgádk, one with a mark of a deer, shash'dhar, one bearing a hare, for cádd, the moon;

makar'dhvaj, one with the flag bearing the sign of a crocodile, for kám'dev, Cupid;

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survapriva, the beloved of the sun, for chaya, shade;
parvati, the daughter of the Himalayas, for general, the white,
wife of Siva.

2. vii. Semantic Convergence.

Another source of the same superfluity of synonymas arises from the fact that of two words, each may develop its meaning on its own lines, and the meanings may come to converge so as to become one and the same. Owing to this process there arise two forms for one and the same idea.

Compare-

kháná, to eat, már'ná, to beat, to kill, in kisi ká rupayá khá jáná, már lená, to embezzle another's money.

ugal'ná, to turn out from the mouth, and ulat'ná, to upset, to vomit.

lát, Lord, governor, naváb, Nawab, prince, in ágaye lát (or naváb) kahiń ke.

rupayá, rupec, palsá, pice, for dhan, money.

In other terms, as the result of shifting of meaning some words drift apart and others approach one another. Many idioms become synonymous in this way. Further examples—

kaháń se, from where, kalse, how, for 'never,' as in ab un'ke darshan kaháń se (kalse) hońge, ve to sadá ke Hye vidá ho gaye, we shall never see him, he is gone for ever.

khák, dust, patthar, stone, in is bắt par khák đále and patthar máre, let it go.

ánkhon men cubh'na, lit. to prick in the eyes, and dil men jam'na, to be fixed in the heart, far 'to be liked.'

áncal, cloth and háth, hand, in ásical pasár'ná, and háth phalláná, for 'to beg'.

2. viii. Figures.

Figurative use of a word makes it synonymous with an ordinary word. Note how meanings converge in the following...

shunc (cleanliness), jangal (jungle), latrine;

svargavás (life in heaven), dehánt (end of the body), mrtyu, death;

pet ki ág, fire of the stomach, bhúkh, hunger are cases of euphemism.

hajároá, thousands, kaí, many; adbhut, unprecedented, and airálá, desolate, wonderful; ghor terrific, and atyant, limitless, bahut, very, much, due to exaggeration.

Ironical expressions like sidhá sádá, straight and simple, haz rat, a personality, have become synonymous with págal, fool, and cálák, clever, or dhárta, wicked.

Metaphorical uses coalesce in meaning, as in -

kari dhup, tez dhup, hot sun ;

mithi churi, kap'ti, vishvas'ghati, treacherous;

terhi khir, samasya, problem.

For other examples see the next chapter.

With these may be compared another class of words which are used indifferently, not because they express precisely the same ideas, but because they do not express any clearly definable ideas at all, such as terms of abuse and vituperation. In a passion I may say gad'há, súar, náláyak, págal kahíá ká, donkey, swine, unfit, mad, etc., to mean nothing more than 'a stupid'.

2. iz. Paraphrase.

Sometimes a word may have a compound sense expressed in a compound word, or a phrase, as—

kartá = kar'ne válá, doer kalaák = kálakh ká tiká, black mark

black mar

hand laághan = niráhár, fast dhobin = dhobi kí strí. pleg = mahámári, plague phánsi = práp-daúd, death penalty

kháát = kán ká mall, car-

cith'rá = phatá kap'rá, rag dattak = god baltháyá betá, adopted son.

Dictionaries give meanings in this way. For want of vocabulary we often use such expressions. Sometimes we use analytic words to avoid the unfamiliar and learned ones. Compare gayak = gane vala, singer; vadak = bajane vala, musician.

washerwoman

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Verbs formed by adding kar'ná, honá, lag'ná, dál'ná, etc., also become synonyms of this type.

Compare-

rok'ná, rukávat dál'ná, to impede sunáná, varnan kar'ná, to relate dhúńdh'ná, toh lená, to search jor'ná, jor lagáná, to join

ucat'ná, ucát honá, to be
estranged
ghus'ná, bhitar jáná, to
enter
cahak'ná, khil uth'ná, to
bloom
ulat'ná, kal kar'ná, to vomit.

2. z. Literary style.

Synonymy, like polysemy, is another incident of literature. Necessities of rhyme, rythm, style, harmony and variety of composition tend to the employment of various words which make them synonymous with others. Take any passage in Hindi and it would be found containing words which are easily replaceable by simpler or different ones, as in—

us kál pashcim or ravi kí rah gaí bas lálimá; hone lagi kuch kuch pragat si yámini kí kálimá—M.S. Here kál — samay, time, or — taraf, side, lálimá — láli, redness, yámini — rát, night, and kálimá — aádherá, darkness.

Sometimes, for the same reasons, words may be employed in senses other than their own and made synonymous with other words, as kálimá, blackness, for aádherá, darkness.

Also note the use of pánigrahan, marriage, for avlamban, resort, in cintá na vighnoń ki karo pánigrahan kar niti ká. It appears that synonymy must exist so long as the question of style dominates the mind of the writer. In one sentence he would say khá lo and in another bhojan kar lo, in order to avoid repetition of words, which he thinks, is a bad style.

2. xi. Synonymy in Proper Names.

Some scholars believe that the question of synorymy does not arise in the case of proper names as they are not significative. But

due to the same cause, we getprayág, iláhábád, Allahabad kampé, sultán'pur,

mahesh, shiv, Siva káshi, banáras, Benaras rání ganj, dáádúpur, Dandupur rám'náth, munni ke bhaiyá, ag'han, mang'sar, name (for the husband)

Sultanpur lanka, sinhal, Ceylon koil, aligarh, Aligarh prthvigani, bhagges'ra. Bhagesra asoj, kuńvár, name of a month neh'ru = pradhán mantri.

2. xii. Negation of antonym.

This is a very common device for creating synonyms. Although negation of an opposite does not necessarily mean positive, because it can be neutral as well, yet usage tends to make such words synonymous and even equivalent with positive words. In fact, there are two sets of antonyms for many ideas or actions. One expresses what is negatively opposite or contrary and the other expresses the simple negation or lack. Thus, 'friend' and 'enemy' are opposites, while 'sympathetic' and 'apathetic' are contrasting in the lack of a particular feeling. A negation of the latter set makes easy synonyms, rather equivalents, by grammatical and logical fact, while the negation of the former class makes partial synonyms by usage and by ultimately offering the 'core-sense' common to its positive opposite. Examples of the two sets are separately given below-

- (i) svaccha, clear, and nirmal, lit. undirty. svastha, healthy, and nirog, un-diseased, sthir, steady, and nishcal, immovable. bhadda, awkward, and bedsmi, mis-shaped. bahut, many, and anek, lit. not one. vilamba, delay, and aber, untimeliness. ek or vahi, same, and abhinna, not different.
- (ii) bahumúlya, high-priced, amúlya, priceless. bhávi, future, adreta, not seen. ap'man, disrespect, anadar, lack of respect, piche, afterwards, anantar, without an interval. Etc., etc.

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W

3. FATE OF SYNONYMS.

- (i) RETRENCHMENT.
 - (a) Indo-Aryan Survivals.
 - (b) Replacements.
- (ii) DIFFERENTIATION.
 - (a) DESYNONYMIZATION.
 - (b) DIFFERENTIATED SYNONYMS.
 - (c) NECESSITATED DISCRIMINATIONS.
 - (d) Two Sets of Usage.
 - (e) ORDINARY AND EXALTED TERMS.
 - (f) RELIGIOUS AND SECULAR WORDS.
 - (g) RECOVERY OF SYNONYMS.
 - (h) ETYMOLOGICAL DISTINCTIONS.
 - (i) THE FORCE OF USAGE AGAIN.
 - (j) THE TREND CONTINUED.
- (iii) RISE OF DOUBLETS.
 - (a) Law of Differentiation.
 - (b) SANSKRIT DOUBLETS.
 - (c) HINDI DOUBLETS.
 - (d) TATSAMA AND TADBHAVA FORMS.
 - (e) POPULAR AND FOREIGN FORMS.
 - (f) FOREIGN DOUBLETS.
- (iv) CONTAMINATION.

3. i. Retrenchment.

The most simple and obvious result of synonymy is that in a set of synonymous words, particularly equivalents one or two may survive, and others disappear. A study of any Sanskrit, Prakrit or Old Hindi dictionary would fully illustrate this tendency.

3. i(a). Indo-Aryan Survivals.

Of the various names for swarga, only swarga is found in colloquial and dev lok, swarlok and swarga in literary Hindi. Out of about a dozen names for 'gods', only dev and dev'tá survive. We do not here consider their preservation in proper names, as

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amar in amar'math. Of about 80 words for 'demon', only rakeas and occasionally mishacar are used. About 40 names of 'fire' are mentioned. But we use the tsm. agai or the tbh, ag only, ag being colloquial and more common. vayu and hava and dialectical bayar, Punjabi va, alone survive out of 49 names for 'wind'. maschar (Beng. masha) is the only surviving word for 'mosquito' out of eight used in Sanskrit. jana is now exclusively used for 'go', all other gaparthaka words having been either discarded or come to be used in other senses. Lahndi uses only vanjua (compare Skt. vvraj) and Pothowari gach'na.

The following are the examples of words that Hindi did not care to inherit from Prakrit-

tividi, packet, H. puriya umba, a tie, H. bandhan ollarana, to sleep, H. sona jhira, shame, H. lajja, laj thuna, horse, H. ghora phesa, dread, H. dar hadahada. instantaneously ińkhiąń, censure, H. nińdá ujihala, sturdy, H. motá kańdúra, a heron, H. bagulá tasia, dry, H. súkhá dhúņa, elephant, H. háthí bhiliága, a lentil, H. masúr hillá, sand, H. bálú

etc., etc.

3. i(b). Replacements.

Some of the OIA and MIA, and even NIA, words have been replaced by foreign words or words of dubious origin. Thus—

totá has replaced suggá which is becoming obsolete. guláb has replaced about twenty words in Sanskrit. kuttá has replaced kukkur which is becoming a provincialism. garam has replaced tátá, though tattá survives in Punjabi. sher has replaced siáha which is used only in literature or in proper names, and which was the single survival out of about 28 words for a 'lion', although L. shíáh still exists. The use of namkar for dás, servant, kilá, for gaph, fort, táríkh for títhi, date, kitáb for pustak or pothi, book, may also be noted.

The list of such words is quite long.

Synonymy is an important factor in word-mortality. Thousands of Indo-Aryan words now lie dead in dictionaries on account of this clash of meaning.

3. ii. Differentiation.

Differentiation is defined as the "intentional, ordered process by which words apparently synonymous, and once synonyms, have nevertheless taken different meanings and can no longer be used indiscriminately."—(Abel). It means a process of classification which consists in attributing degrees to synonymous expressions. Nothing, in truth, is more natural or more necessary than differentiation, since our language gathers in words of different epochs and different surroundings, and would be wholly given over to confusion if it did not keep a certain order among them.

We must deal with words as the botanist deals with plants. To the village layman many flowers look almost alike, and he would readily refer them to the same class, but if he turns to the classification made by the botanist, he would see that they belong to quite different families.

3. ii(a). Desynonymization.

Differentiation, however, is a question of cultural development. Backward people use the synonymous words indiscriminately. An advanced society has more things to designate, thoughts to utter, and distinctions to draw, and it is felt to be a waste of resources to have two or more words for signifying one and the same object. Extravagance, it feels, would be punished. Some thought or feeling would want its adequate designation because another would have two. Hereupon begins what has been well called the process of "desynonymizing." The desire for distinctness, emphasis, connotation, and the needs of thought which grow with the growth of culture, greatly stimulate this process.

Heyse in his "system der sprachwissenschaft" thus accounts for the disappearance of absolute equivalents: "Cultivated speech admits no superfluity and knows how to use every word for differentiation and fine nuance expression, for its own advantage."

The superior nuance noticed in English, for example, is due to the influence of the scientific outlook in Europe which has brought about precision in many words. Desynonymization, also, checks the rate of word-mortality and enriches a language.

3. ii(b). Differentiated Synonyms.

The possibilities of differentiation between synonyms are many. We need as many of them as we can assimilate and then use for various shades of our thoughts. We have already made useful distinctions in the application of many a synonym. But Hindi is still backward in this respect. Scholars, writers and literate speakers should not afford to let their advancing language become shabby. In a well-constructed language there should be no perfect synonyms. The slovenly use of language, for instance the employment of cáru, sundar, bááká, chabilá, etc. for 'beautiful' without distinction, is bad. The richness of language depends on expressing finer shades of thought in exact words. Differentiation in a very large number of synonyms is now fixed and popularized.

Examples-

laimp (table lamp), lál'țain (the hurricane lantern), dáyá (earthen lamp);

shor (disagreeable and loud sound), shat (warning, say of footsteps);

chotá (small), súksma (subtle), ochá (mean), hín (wanting in something);

dal (party), jhur'mat (a bevy of women), bhir (crowd), gucchá (bunch), lacchá (a collection of silk threads), toli (a collection of wicked persons), mand'li (a collection of good men);

áshram is the resort of a Rishi, kuṭiyá of a Sadhu, jhoáp/rí of a poor man, bhaṭ of a fox, bil of a rat, báábí of a snake, thán of a horse, and so on.

Compare bál, human hair (Beng. bál, pubic hair, differentiated from cúlá, hair), jhánt, pubic hair (Punjabi jhant, child's first hair, and jhún, pubic hair), ún, sheep's hair, wool, ál, manes, etc.

motá, fat (in general), ghaná thick (in arrangement), gáthá, thick (fluid or semi-fluid);

saphed, white, uj'lá, clean and white, gorá, white animal or person;

dekh'må, to see, ták'må, to look (implies effort and prolonged vision), táp'må, to look with suspicion;

kah'má, to say, bol'ná, to speak, batáná, to tell; cah'caháná, to chirp, cahnk'ná, to chirp and dance;

rambháná, hin'hináná, bal'baláná, mimiyáná are the voices of cow, horse, camel and goat respectively.

thel'na, to push deliberately and continually, dhakel'na, to push abruptly and for a moment.

A layman wuld use nirálá, anúthá and anokhá indiscriminately, but an educated person would use nirala to mean unique. anutha to mean singular, and anokha to mean peculiar. anutha is certainly best of its kind and, therefore, likeable; nirálá may not be amiable, although it is separate in distinction, good or bad; anokhá is new with its characteristics. an-ban, khat-pat, and bigar, are differentiated. an-ban is a passive and negative state of discord: khat'pat means that there is occasional quarrel between the parties; bigar shows that the quarrel has assumed a serious form. takker. ihat'ka, thokar, dhakka, bhirant, and muth-bher have clearcut difference of sense, meaning collision, jerk, kick, push (or shock), clash and encounter respectively.

Law, science and scientific study of various subjects including history, geography, philosophy, literature, language and arts necessitates distinction in signification. In recent years, more and more words have been confined to one and only one sense which is not to be shared by any other words. Hundreds of vocables have, to-day. become technical terms in the real sense of the word.

More Examples-

- l. yogyatá, ability pátratá, cligibility gun, quality sámarthya, capability.
- 2. parisad, council nikáv, body.
- 3. ulká, meteor pucchal tárá, comet upagrah, satellite.
- 4. dusprayog, ill-use kuprayog, misusc
- 5. pirá, pain kasta, distress ved'ná, agony shok, mourning, sorrow

The distinction between the turn and ap for 'you' is notable.

kárya-kushal'tá, efficiency arhatá, qualification kşam'tá, capacity

samiti, committee

niháriká, nebula grah, planet

durup'yog, abusc anup'yog, non-usc. dukh, grief khed, regret vyathá, anguish yat'ma, suffering.

3. ii(c). Necessitated Discriminations.

Sometimes synonymous words continue as such for generations, but when new objects or new shades of an idea are discovered, it at length happens that a separation of meanings is made between them. Examples—

khár (Skt. kṣár) and rákh are the same, but with the discovery of common properties of alkaline substances, khár has come to be applied to 'alkali' or potash and rákh, to 'ashes'. Similarly vald is an Ayurvedic physician, hakim a Yunani physician and dákṭar an allopathic physician and surgeon, although the three words are originally identical. Also compare—

hát, a village market, mandí, a big market, bázár, shops in lines as in a city; Punj. hattí, a shop;

shakkar, and kháńd are identical. But in the Punjab and at many other places shakkar is brown sugar and kháňd white sugar (i.e. cíní).

jhar'ná, is waterfall, and sotá, spring, though both words have had the same meaning,

par'ca, an examination paper, par'ca, a voting paper, a permit.

3. ii(d). Two sets of Usage.

It is true that literary Hindi has flooded the popular language with synonyms. But the very fact that one of the two series belongs to the popular language and the other to the learned and didactic style, suffices to show the difference of shade, or at least of usage, between them. To avoid monotony of sty'e, a learned writer might say main ne use mará to us'ne bhi mere úpar prahár kiyá, but an ordinary speaker would say: main ne use márá, us'ne mujhe márá, I struck him and he struck me.

Of synonyms we have already noted that discrimination exists in that one may be used in vulgar society, while the other is employed among cultured classes, e.g. tatti and shame, latrine, have, in effect, the same signification, yet one is vulgar and the other is cuphemistic. Similarly mutt'ma and laghushanka kar'ma, to make water; meh'ri and stri, lady, (cf. Punj. ran and banh'ti, wife); lanth and match, stupid; etc.

IV

Synonyms remain differentiated on account of their usage in different dialects. When they are taken up by a standard language they are generally used blindly and made co-incident and identical.

mah'rai actually means 'the quality of a chief' (mahar), but it is made synonymous with barai 'greatness'.

maráyal is made synonymous with mariyal, weak, almost dead, although it actually means 'one who is used to receive beating'. manas'ná is a very useful dialectical word meaning 'to resolve in mind', but it is understood to mean 'to desire' and made synonymous with icchá kar'ná. bagar is 'a cowpen' but it is made equivalent, sometimes, to ghar, house, and sometimes to ángan, 'courtyard'.

A closer semantic evaluation of dialectical terms used in the standard literary Hindi could alone enable such terms to be diversified into cultured idioms.

Then there are local differences of usage, so that, of two words of like meaning, one would be exclusively used to express precisely the same idea.

Examples-

átá, pisán, flour junharí, jvár, a millet supárí, chálí, betelnut baingan, bhántá, brinjal lindah'rá, makki, maize tambákú, khaini, chewing

tobacco.

One set is used in western Hindi area and the other in the eastern area.

Lastly, we have noted, that identical terms are differentiated in their usage by Hindus and Muslims, or Hindus and Sikhs and so on. In the Punjab some Sikhs have a peculiar vocabulary of their own which they use amongst themselves. They call

anhi (blind) for chán'ni, sieve; ujág'ri, enlightenment, for lál'tain, lantern;

amrti, nectar, for lassi, whey; ar'band, a shelter-cloth, for languta, loin cloth; etc., etc.

Distinctions in the vocabularies of shopkeepers and zamindars, officials and menials, soldiers and civilians, etc. are well-known.

3. ii(e). Ordinary and Exalted Terms.

There are languages in which the various acts of life are not

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designated in the same way if an exalted personage be concerned as when the ordinary man is in question, Compare-

vah áyá, áp padháre, he came ; baitho, tash'rif rakhie, be scated; áp. hazúr. you : ve, sar'kár, hc.

3. ii(f). Religious and Secular Terms.

One set may be used in sacred style or language of religion, and another restricted to secular purposes, as-

ág jalí, agni pracaúd huí, pherá, parikramá, circumambulation fire burnt

pání, jal, water kháná, bhog, meal supári, pungi phal, betel-put ghará, kalash, jar gobar, guar, cow-dung

kitáb, grantha, book patte, (tul'si) dal, lcaf caval, aksat, ricc.

Compare Punj. kitáb, book, pothi, a religious book; mithái. sweetmeat or pudding and par'shad, sweets distributed in the name of a deity.

3. ii(g). Recovery of Synonyms.

On the one hand there is a tendency to discriminate as culture grows and on the other hand many distinct words are disappearing from common life. In proportion as we multiply distinctions between intellectual functions, and between moral states or their manifestations, and consequently the words to express them, as we change the nomenclature of criticism, and subtilize the vocabulary of ethics and metaphysics, we incline to discard nice differences between terms properly belonging to material acts and objects and to suffer words expressive of them to perish.*

As Sir George Grierson warns us in the "Behar Peasant Life". farmers are losing those subtleties in many names of rural economy

^{*} G. P. Marsh: Lectures on English Language, p. 417.

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which were formerly distinguished by appropriate terms. The characteristic habits, tracks and other physical peculiarities of animals were formerly closely noted.

The synonymist ascertains significations by the evidence obtained in the most competent quarters. He asks the farmer for the proper distinction of rustic terms, he applies to the statesman to teach him the purport of political phraseology, and so on.

The tailor would tell us that phatúhi, baniyán, gańji, bańdi, sad'ri, kur'ti, and váskat do not all refer to the same garment as the compiler of 'Hindi paryydy'váci kosh' thinks, but to different kinds of a waistcoat. The tailor and the cobbler, between themselves, would inform us what distinctions exist between siná, to sew, turap'ná, to stitch, táńk'ná, to tuck in, gunth'ná, to plait and gánth'ná, to repair. The goldsmith would enlighten us about the difference between phúl, lamág and kil (nose-ornaments), biúdí and tikuli, (forehead ornaments), mund'ri, challá and angúthi, (forms of finger ring). The physician would be able to discriminate rightly between jukám, reshá, pinas and nák'rá (various forms of bad cold). The housewife would give us the distinction between kal'chi, darvi, kambi and cam'cá (various kinds of spoons and ladles). We invite the attention of all specialists to come to the help of the synonymist.

3. ii(h). Etymological Distinctions.

The key to synonymy may also be found in the differing etymologies of synonyms. By this analysis we can arrive at special shades of meaning. There is a certain preparedness in such words to separate off in their meaning from one another, in as much as they originally belonged to different stocks. While it is true, to quote Trench,* that words may often ride very slackly at anchor on their etymologies, may be borne hither and thither by the shifting tides and currents of usage, yet they are, for the most part, still bound by them. Very few have broken away and drifted from their moorings altogether. The ctymological meaning of words like gat for cow, macchar for mosquito, kal for tomorrow or yesterday, aksat for

^{*}On the study of words. p. 163-164.

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rice, is now untraceable in their current meaning. Yet it is true that etymological meaning, in general, persists, and it can come to our help when we insist on making distinctions.

Examples-

sákhá, dry, and rákhá, rough, not smooth.

avasthá, present age (Skt. condition), áyu, the age from birth to death.

daridra, in distressed circumstances, mirdhan, without money, din, pitiable.

bapurá, wretched, becárá, helpless.

lang'ra, one who limps by one leg, pangu, crippled may be by both legs, khanja, one who walks haltingly.

ar'can, hesitation, hindrance, rukavat, obstacle.

kanjús, one who is worried about collecting too much (kan/cús), krpan, one whose living is pitiable, and súm, who does not like to spend.

lubháná, to give temptation, < Skt. lubh, bah'láná, to amuse, phus'láná, to dissuade.

utháná, to raise, to rouse, jagáná, to awaken.

ján'ná, to know, samajh'ná, to know well, understand.

páná, to receive, lah'ná, to obtain.

pina, to drink, ancavas, to sip.

sansar, the world, vishva, the universe.

luterá, robber, bat'már, highwayman.

ab'la, the weak sex, nari, woman.

chátra, pupil, vidyárthi, student.

thám'ná, to hold, pakar'ná, to catch.

It may be seen that in dealing with the above words we have sought to refer their usage to their etymologies, to follow the guidance of these and by the same aid to trace the lines of demarcation which divide them.

3. ii(i). The force of Usage, again.

It may, however, be remembered that etymology, for practical purposes, is generally but a fallacious guide. Custom and usage are proper guides and they must be consulted first. In a language of multiple origin like Hindi, there are many sets of words to the

different members of which etymology would lead one to attach the same signification. But custom has, in the majority of cases, decided in favour of economy, and appropriate to each some special function. In some instances this differentiation has not yet commenced, in others it has commenced but is not complete. Yet we find a marked tendency in usage to prefer one of two words for one, and the other for another, of the meanings or shades of meanings involved Examples of this differentiation (by custom or usage) of terms etymologically identical in meaning are—

svapna, nidrá, (sleep), svapna, dream, nidrá, sleep. gunth'ná, gundh'ná, (to plait), gundh'ná, to knead gunth'ná to plait.

pet, per, (body), pet, belly, per, tree.

kothi, koth'ri, (apartment), kothi, a modern house, koth'ri a small room.

yátri, batohi, (traveller), yátri, a pilgrim, batohi, a traveller puráná, prácin, (old), puráná, old, prácin, ancient. nafá, lábh, (gain), lábh, gain, nafá, profit in a bargain. niti, nyáy, (manner), niti, policy, nyáy, justice.

3. ii(j). The Trend continues.

"When the popular mind has once devised a certain kind of differentiation, it is naturally tempted to complete the series."

Compare—

prem, love in general, sneh, for youngsters, shraddhá, for elders and religion, bhakti, for God or gods, pranay, between lovers.

man thinks, citta knows, hrday feels, mánas desires, antah' karan is conscience.

dukh, unhappiness, is related to man, shok to citta, kşobh is disappointment, khed is despair, vişâd is illusion and kaşţa is trouble (physical).

terhá is crooked, bánká is curved, tir'chá is slanting and lah'riyá serpentine.

cup is silent, suna still and numb, gunga unable to speak, man unwilling to speak.

pila, yellow, pingal, copper colour, pital, brazen colour,

páádur, palc.

Compare English shades of red colour, namely, red, scarlet, vermilion, carmine, crimson, pink, maroon, cerise, puce, etc.

These examples are taken simply to show how various synonymbrought from various sources and various languages can be discriminated and how our thoughts can be enriched by such discrimination.

Let us remark, by the way, that thousands of other words in Hindi are still waiting for such a discrimination.

Those distinctions, which still wait to be made, we may fittly regard "as so much reversionary wealth in our mother-tongue". It is the best characteristic of a well-dressed man that his clothes fit him. They should not too be small and shrunken here and loose there. We must know the exactest correspondents and fittest exponents of thought. We should develop the instinct which seeks dissimilarity in the similarity of meaning, the instinct that tells us that such and such a use is right and in conformity with the genius of the language. We badly need dictionaries of discriminated synonyms in Hindi, dictionaries which can show the various shades of meanings, the small, latent and partial differences between the so-called synonyms. Until writers and speakers of the standard Hindi determine the ultimate distinction of synonyms, further research is impossible.

3. iii. Rise of Doublets.

3. iii(a). Law of Differentiation.

How meanings may shift, either widely or slightly, and how indeterminable a priori the shiftings are, may be most clearly seen from the differentiation of 'doublets' or words of the same etymological meaning but with materially different usage. The Law of Differentiation in language operates here not only on the inner meaning of such pairs but also on their outer form. In fact, two forms scarcely ever last unless used in somewhat different senses. Doubtets are forms in which differentiation has made itself more or less strongly felt.

Phonetic differentiation, we have noted in a previous Chapter, is also effected by prefixes, suffixes, infixes, and other sound changes to

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produce semantic differentiation. Doublets are a form of the same phenomenon.

3. iii(b). Sanskrit Doublets.

The following doublets have been inherited from Sanskrit by the literary Hindi.

ahár, food; aharan, to carry away.
vidhán, constitution; vidhi, method.
bhog, offering; bhoj, feast; bhojan, food.
ahítal, cold; ahít'lá, small pox.
ghrta, fat, ghee; ghrná, warmth of the heart, pity, hatred.
prakrta, true; prákrta, natural.
bhram, illusion; bhraman, wandering.

3. iii(c). Hindi Doublets.

(a) Phonetic laws give two or even more forms of the same word. Compare—

bach'rá, calf; bacherá, colt. makhi, fly; mákhi, bec.

pacáná, to digest; pakáná, to cook.

khár, potash; chár, ashes. thandá, cold; thárá, upright. dakkhin, south; dáhiná, right.

khiyana, to wear out; khij'na, to be vexed.

pán, betel ; panná, leaf, < parņa.

Compare Punjabi jus, to be yoked, and jus, to be joined, cap'h, shoe, cap'ri, layer.

Also note phonetic semantic variations in Chapter II.

(b) We may also place in this group doublets which differ only by a slight change in their terminations. The following, for example, are not feminine forms in the real sense.

Compare-

thátá, protector; thátí, deposit.

pavitrá, tumeric, silken garland; pavitrí, a ring of Darbha

grass.

dulatti, one having two legs; dulatti, a kick with two legs.
magar, clever, as a citizen; mag'ri, Hindi script.
dham, wild pigeon; dhami, white cow.
adheis, half pice; adheis, half rupee.
durangi, having two colours; durangi, treachery.

(c) To this series we may add some syntactical doublets, or expressions formed of a substantive and a modifier, in which the modifier takes a different meaning according as it precedes or follows

the substantive.

cáh'tí bivi hal, she is a beloved wife, and bivi cáh'tí hal, the wife wants.

acchá rogi hal, it is a good patient, and rogi acchá hal, the patient is better.

In sentences of the first type the modifier qualifies the noun and orms a composite word with it. On the contrary, in sentences of he other type, it has signification by itself.

3. iii(d). Tsm. and Tbh. Forms.

Sometimes tsm. (learned) and tbh. (popular) forms exist for semantic differentiation.

garbhini, pregnant; gábhin, pregnant (animal).

Hy, animal; ji, heart.

(a) In general, tsm. words have wider signification than their tbh. equivalents.

Compare-

sthán, place, thán, a stable.

jyeştha, biggest, jeth, elder brother of the husband.

parus, person, par khá, ancestors.

cárna, powder, cán, cáná, lime.

sand, impotent, sand, a bull.

(b) Of several meanings of a usm. word, one is retained by the equivalent.

Compare-

pretha, (page, back) pith, back vadsh, (bamboo, family) bank, bamboo

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pád, (foot, 1/4, etc.) pánv, foot patra, (leaf, page, paper) patrá, leaf.

(c) Sometimes a tsm. word is restricted to an elevated sense.

Compare-

darshan, sight of god

dekh'na, to see.

caritra, conduct, life sketch, carittar, trickery; Punj. calittar.

(d) Often a thh. word has undergone a number of changes, but when a tsm. word is borrowed, it is used in its classical sense, the word having been taken by the learned classes from classical literature.

Compare-

- H. bhabhút, ashes, Skt. vibhúti, prosperity.
- H. suhág, husband, Skt. saubhágya, fortune.
- H. dúlhá, bridegroom, Skt. durlabha, rare.
- H. pás, near, Skt. párshva, side.
- H. tak, stare, Skt. tarks, argue.
- H. thanda, cold, Skt. stabdha, blocked.
- H. bhanvar, whirlpool, Skt. bhramara, bec.
- H. sahal, easy, Skt. sulabha, easily obtainable.
- H. bith, shit, Skt. visthá, human excretion.
- H. ganth, knot, Skt. grantha, book.

3. iii(e). Popular and Foreign Forms.

There are cases of doublets in which one form is native and the other a loan.

Examples-

táp, fever.

táb (Per.), power páyá (Per.), foot of a bed or

saptáh, week

haftá (Per.), Saturday
(Also week)

chair

ankur, sprout
pad, foot (from Skt.)
cakra (Skt.), round
gari, vehicle

ańgúr (Per.), grape foot (Eng.), 12 inches cycle (Eng.), bicycle car (?) (Eng.)

As a matter of course, words from European languages forming doublets with Hindi words must be very few. Because, first, the

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number of such words is very small, and, secondly, the relationship between Indian Aryan languages and Persian is closer than that between Indian and European languages which separated at a much remoter date. Words that have come from other Indian languages to co-ordinate with Hindi are also not many.

Examples-

25-

Beng, galpa, story H. gappa, gossip Gui, cala, in force H. cal'ta, moving.

3. iii(f). Foreign Doublets.

Sometimes both forms may be foreign, generally Perso-Arabic,

barbar, barbarian babbar, lion sharáb, wine shar'bat, syrup sabab, cause as'báb, goods bekar, without work begår, forced labour.

3. iv. Contamination.

When two synonymous forms arise in the mind simultaneously. the speaker is sometimes at a loss to decide on the spur of the moment which form he should use. He utters the first element of the one and, generally, the second element of the other.

Examples-

virog, separation < viraha and viyoga. botám, button, < battan and godám. byont, matter, < bat and vyavastha. lattha, stick, < laguda and yasthi. iagah, place, < Per. iay and gah. bhucca, stupid. < bhut'na and lucca. mál'godám, godown, < mál'kháná and godám, godown. cun'na, to select, < Skt. cinoti, chooses and cuntati, to cut off. chil'na, to peel, < Skt. chidyate, and kevilati. Cf. L. khend, ball, < Skt. kheld, plaything, kanduka, ball. Punj. jura, top-knot of hair, < Skt. jata and cods.

lik, line, < Skt. rekha and H. lakir.

4. CONCLUSION.

4. Conclusion.

The study of synonymy proves that, in a particular language, no two words are exactly equivalent. If there are any, they cannot all persist. Only the fittest one will survive leaving others either to die their natural death or turn into literary synonyms in the true sense of the word. The synonyms actually express nice alternatives of by-sense, feeling or tone, and that, in fact, is the test of an advanced language and that also is the aim of synonymy.

Sometimes two words appear perfectly equivalent, but there must be other contexts wherein the distinction would be clear. purá, full, and samápta, finished, may be convertible in merá kám púrá ho gayá, my work is finished; but we cannot replace púrá by samápta in merá rupayá púrá kar do, make up my amount.

Synonymy, therefore, aims at two things at a time: It recognizes the 'core-sense' or 'community of meaning' in two or more words which somehow and somewhere can replace each other, and analyses the 'by-sense' or 'distinctive meaning' in each one of them, believing that each word in the language has an individuality and exclusive function of its own. This fact suggests that a dictionary is always misleading and unrealiable for learning the exact meaning and use of a word. A dictionary would make absolute synonyms of partial synonyms and partial synonyms of absolute ones. A word has numerous facets of by-sense, delicate degrees or shades of meaning and latencies of expression beyond the meaning given in the dictionary, howsoever comprehensive and precise it may claim to be. This means that synonymy as a subject of semantics, historical as well as descriptive, can make a unique contribution to our power with words.







CONDITIONS OF SEMANTIC VARIATIONS

1. INTRODUCTORY.

1. Introductory.

In asking what are the conditions of semantic change, we touch on the most obscure and most difficult question connected with semantics. Paul, Vendryes, Breal, Carnoy and other master semanticians have not dealt with this question. From their observations, however, we can sift certain facts. Paul strongly believes that "change of usage results from the ordinary exercise of speech", i.e. all change is subconscious and it is the result of merely psychological conditions among which he reckons differentiation, analogy, economy of expression, the cultured level of the individual and of the society, etc. But he admits at one point (p. 12) that the conscious intention of single individuals, grammarians, technicians, teachers, discoverers, scientists and others is also an important cause of change.

Breal also thinks that analogy, differentiation, metaphor and contagion or association play an important part in effecting change of meaning.

J. H. Bredsdorff, a Dane enumerated, in 1821, the following factors-

(1) Mishearing or misunderstanding, (2) defective memory, (3) laziness, (4) tendency towards and influence of analogy and real or fancied similarity, (5) the desire to be distinct, and (6) the need of expressing fresh ideas.

No. (1), (2) and (3) could, of course, be given under the single heading of laxity. "Laziness" is no force. In fact no linguistic development could have been possible if laziness dominated language. Man speaks, on the whole, with a constant degree of energy, his attention varies from moment to moment, but less attention to certain parts of speech cannot be dubbed as "laziness".

Prof. Sayce (in the Science of language, Vol. I, Chapter III) enumerates similar causes, namely, emphasis, analogy and laziness.

These causes, however, are just esoteric and incomplete. Dr. I. J. Taraporewala attempts to give a more comprehensive list and enumerates the following.

- (1) Figurative Use;
- (2) Change of environment;
 - (a) Geographical, (b) Social, (c) Material;
- (3) Politeness in addressing people;
- (4) Euphemistic use;
- (5) Irony;
- (6) Emotional emphasis and exaggeration;
- (7) Prevailing use of one type out of a class to denote the whole;
- (8) Ignorance or misapprehension;
- (9) Indefinite meaning of words themselves;
- (10) Differences between individual conceptions of a word;
- (11) Predominence of one element, as in lal pag'ri for a constable;
- (12) Unconscious inclusion of a secondary meaning as in 'Hindi'.

On a closer examination we shall discover that the list, though long, does not carry us much further. If 'figure of speech' has to be taken as a cause at all, Nos. (3), (4), (5) and even (6) would be included in it. They are simply 'figures'. No. (7) is a change itself and not a cause. No. (10) is a corollary of No. (8) and (9). So also, No. (12). Nos. (7) and (11) are not quite different.

The most useful analysis is, perhaps, that given by Tucker (pp. 380-1), who classifies the chief motives of changes as thus—

(1) Indefinite width of meaning in a word as originally applied, causing diversity of use, by which he means vagueness of meaning in a word itself.

(2) Predominance of one element in a thing named, causing a more special application of the name of that element. When a thing is named or thought of, a picture of that thing is called up before the mind. In such a picture certain elements or features will be more distinct than the others. Which elements, features, or characteristics these will be, will depend on the experience which the speaker or listener has had of the thing in question. The most obvious instances are those in which the name belonging to a class of objects becomes restricted to one species of them.

mrga, wild animal, came to mean a particular animal to which the speakers or listeners were accustomed, i.e. 'deer'; Skt. parņam, leaf, > H. pán, betel-leaf, which they commonly used in daily life. pansári, was originally a general grocer. He now deals in drugs only. yátrá, journey, is a journey to a religious place (as in pre-railway times journey was usually undertaken by pilgrims). Thus terms are restricted according as they are first used by those who are intimately concerned with them. They originate in connections and circumstances which explain them.

- (3) Unconscious inclusion of a secondary meaning due to a natural association of ideas, and thence either a gradual transference to that secondary meaning, or else a widening to comprise it. As dancing and prostitution became the chief characteristics of templegirls, dev'dási, slave girl of the god, came to mean a 'poor girl devoted to prostitution in an idol-temple'.
- (4) The effort at force or clearness of expression, or at liveliness, causing a figurative application of words and hence a broadening of their meanings. Control is qualified by kará, hard, stiff, although the adjective relates to concrete objects. Even a word may be called mithá, sweet, although sweetness relates to tongue.

The effort towards force and vivacity leads to two departures from the normal use of words. There is first the emphasis which substitutes a stronger word for a weaker but truer one, as atyant burn for bahut burn. A frequent use of such intensifying or exaggerating terms, leads to a discounting of their meaning. They become weak and colourless.

Often emphasis is humorous and deliberate. The 'poetic' faculty in mankind—which, as Aristotle puts it, perceives the resemblances between things—expresses the unseen in terms of the seen, the intanlible in terms of the tangible, and so on. Thus we get the figurative or metaphorical application of things.

- (5) Emotional emphasis, leading to a misuse of a term in a wider or weaker sense than the true one.*
- (6) Euphemism and irony, or a desire to avoid the unpleasant or less courteous terms, and thence a new sense acquired by the euphemistic substitute. These figures of speech, also called litotes (or understatement), play no little part in the development of meanings. Examples—

svargavás, originally, 'abode in the heavens', death,
haz'rat, originally, 'presence', then 'a great man', a clever
person.

- (7) Laxity in the use of words, through ignorance or misapprehension. A word is misused by a speaker who has never properly
 understood it, but who, on hearing it from others, has in larger or
 smaller measure misconceived the sense. Such misconception is not
 likely to be diminished when a superficial education is general and
 when the vocabulary of the language, particularly in polysyllables,
 is vast. In point of fact, the misunderstanding and the association
 of the secondary idea operate together. For details see the section
 2. vi. below.
 - (8) Meaning of certain classes of words may vary from epoch to epoch, or in different regions of the same language, through a diversity in social circumstances or in material practices and appliances. The subject will be fully discussed in the next section.

Even this scheme is overlapping. All these conditions may be brought under three headings, namely, psychological, logical and structural, and the following classification would be found more scientific and comprehensive.

Psychological conditions include (i) Historical and Cultural Events, (ii) Emphasis, (iii) Association, (iv) Analogy, (v) Circumlocution, and (vi) Laxity.

Under logical conditions we take, especially, Differentiation, and Syntactical and Technical needs.

Structural conditions are philological, phonological and morphological.

All minor circumstances of change will be taken up in the next chapter on "Important Variations".

^{*}This, we think, is included in No. (4).

2. PSYCHOLOGICAL CONDITIONS.

- (i) HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL EVENTS.
 - (a) HISTORICAL STAMP.
 - (b) INFLUENCE OF SOCIAL CONDITIONS.
 - (c) CHANGE OF POLITICAL CONDITIONS.
 - (d) ECONOMIC CHANGE: A CONDITION OF SEMANTIC CHANGE.
 - (e) CULTURAL CONDITION, NATIONAL AND INDIVIDUAL.
 - (f) Influence of National Beliefs.
 - (g) GROWTH OF HUMAN INSTITUTIONS.
- (ii) EMPHASIS.
 - (a) SHIFTS ON EMPHASIS.
 - (b) Change of semantic value due to emotional causes.
- (iii) Association.
 - (a) Association: A FACTOR OF SEMANTIC RESTRICTIONS.
 - (b) GENERALIZATION BY ASSOCIATION.
 - (c) TRANSFERENCE.
- (iv) Analogy.
 - (a) IMAGES OF OBJECTS IN WORDS AND MEANINGS.
 - (b) Transference of meanings.
 - (c) ABSTRACTION AND CONCRETION.
 - (d) GENERALIZATION.
 - (c) PARTIAL RESEMBLANCE.
 - (f) POPULAR ETYMOLOGY.
 - (g) METAPHOR IS SIMPLY ANALOGY.
- (v) CIRCUMLOCUTION.
 - (a) EUPHEMISM: A QUESTION OF DECENCY.
 - (b) PERSONAL CAUSES.
 - (c) Social and Moral Euphemism.
 - (d) Religious Euphemism.
 - (c) NATIONAL EUPHEMISM.
 - (f) IRONICAL EUPHEMISM.
 - (g) EUPHEMISTIC EUPHEMISM.
 - (h) CACOPHEMISM.
 - (i) GENERAL PERIPHRASIS.
- (vi) LAXITY.
 - (a) MEAPPREHENSION AND MESAPPLICATION.
 - (b) IMITATION.
 - (c) ELLIPSIS AND MEANING CHANGE.

Words express things, ideas, facts and feelings. The development of new words or transference in the meanings of old ones, is, therefore, an echo of those changes which affect the thought of a people or its mode of feeling. According to Behaviourism, all linguistic changes have as their origin some personal and, therefore, it would seem, arbitrary action. But we must not forget that if linguistic changes, and, in particular, changes of meaning, presuppose personal causes, they have no chance of permanence except when they find agreement of feeling and thinking on the part of the multitude which then accepts the neologism. There must be accordance between the psychological state of the author and that of the people, or else the neologism does not live.

The facts seem to divide into two groups: (1) changes of meaning due to objective causes exterior to the mind, (2) changes of meaning due to subjective causes within the mind. The study of the first group will throw light on the history of ideas and facts among the people. The second group will include the expressions of general ideas and feelings common, not to such a people, but to the larger part of the peoples in the same state of civilization.

Generally speaking, historical and cultural events, emphasis, association, analogy and circumlocution, are national conditions of linguistic change. Each nation has its own conditions, and although we find that sometimes the channel of semantic development agrees with that of a similar word in another country, the coincidence is merely accidental. On the other hand, economy as a condition of linguistic change works almost universally in the same way in a particular group or nature of words.

2. i. Historical and Cultural Events.

Of the objective causes, historical events play a prominent part in semantic variations. The foreign invasions of India, nomadic inroads, Greek institutions, rise of Hindu Imperialism, Arab, Persian and Turk settlements, Semitic laws, the English language, the revival of Sanskrit, the immense development of science in modern times, the rise of new classes, contact with the west, social and national awakening, these are causes enough to name only the most noteworthy, which have contributed to the transformation of Indian civilization,

besides the changes which the natural course of time has impressed on manners, and which our advancing literature has imposed on the mind. And if we were to consider the religious movements of various periods in India, we could just imagine how many new ideas and facts must have penetrated into the treasure of human thought. For the expression of these ideas and facts Hindi has had to take recourse to a number of linguistic means of which semantic change of the existing word-material is most prominent.

2. i(a). Historical Stamp.

The association of a word with some historical event, place or person restricts its meaning, as this becomes the popular meaning of that word. videh, originally 'one without body', relates to Raja Janak and even to his country i.e. Mithila, and valdehi, which signifies 'a daughter of Videha' or 'a woman from the Videha country', has come to mean 'Sita'. vidarbha is the old name of Berar and vaidarbhi should mean 'a woman from Vidarbha or Berar', but it generally signifies either Rukmini or Damavanti. birá utháná originally means 'taking up a betel-leaf' but a has come to signify 'to undertake a responsibility', as the Rajputs used to express their pledge to perform a task by taking up a betel-leaf (a gauntlet, as it were) in the presence of their fellow-warriors. cám ke dám literally means leather token-money, but on account of its historical association with the rule of the famous water-carrier who reigned for a couple of days in the time of Humayun, it signifies 'a forced government'.

2. i(b). Influence of Social and Religious Conditions.

Words change in meaning with the changing conditions in the social order of the people. The transference of the word paqdit, a learned man, to a learned Brahman, and then to any Brahman, was necessitated by actual social conditions, for when the vast number of learned people were Brahmans, the evaluation of a learned man as Brahman only was a psychological attitude. The transference of the word to designate a law-officer under the East

India Company was also due to similar circumstances. khatri is from Skt. kṣatriya which means a member of the military caste. But in the United Provinces it is understood to designate, quite naturally, a member of the mercantile class or a Vaisya, on account of his occupation as such irrespective of the fact that he claims a descent from some warrior caste. var, originally the best person, came to signify a chosen husband as he was, in fact, the best and the choicest of the persons who sought the hand of a bride. He was actually chosen out of a lot. In later times, the word was used for a bridegroom or a husband, although he was never selected. pitrkarma meant 'service of the parents' and as it was to be performed devotedly by a son it was also called shráddha. With the rise of new religious ideas, the same words were applied to the funeral rite or annual ceremony of giving oblations in the name of the departed souls of the parents.

Thus changes in social and religious conditions of the people are fully represented in the meaning of words.

Some words will very well compare the life of our ancestors and of ourselves.

More examples-

Skt. upádhyáyah (teacher) > H. ojhá, wizard.

Skt. ácárya (scholar) > H. acáraj, an undertaker.

Skt. shvashura (husband's father) > H. sasur, wife's or

husband's father.

Skt. vashiştha (a sage) > H. basith, a messenger.

Betrothal was simply vágdán, giving a word. It now entails a profuse and unwanted series of ceremonies.

Skt. grantha, a knot a book, is in Hindi used generally to denote a huge book particularly of a religious character.

2. i(c). Change of Political Conditions.

Semantic change varies with political conditions. kot'wil was once a military officer (koṭapálakah, keeper of the fort), but now he is a police officer. It may be noted that in mediaeval times military and executive duties were combined. 'Faujdari' relates to the office of the faujdar, commander of an army. In Mughal times the faujdars were also entrusted with magisterial and executive powers.

The offices have since been separated and finite inow simply means 'criminal cases', or 'criminal justice'. alsam, originally 'a manager', has since the later Mughal times come to signify 'a ruler', and more particularly 'the Nizam of Hyderabad'. pat'vari (pattah, a badge, and vari, vali, possessing) was, at one time, a peon wearing the badge of his office. Compare Guj. patavano, a peon. With the rise of British bureaucracy, he has become a village official.

More examples—

Tah'sil'dar, a collector, < Per. tah'sil, receiving, collecting, denotes now an executive officer of subdivision of a district.

More examples-

Ar. zil'a, a rib, a side, a part, > H. jilá, district; pańcáyat meant 'a collection of five', but now it means a meeting of a particular society consisting of any number of persons, usually met for arbitration.

Skt. náyaka, leader, > H. náyak, the lowest officer in the Indian army. English 'Congress', assembly of men, in Hindi it refers to a political body.

Thus words may be restricted, generalized and transferred in signification.

2. i(d). Economic change a Condition of Semantic change.

The progress in the material conditions of existence is mirrored in the new meanings of a large number of words in Hindi. patra originally meant 'a leaf'. It came to be applied to a 'letter' for which a leaf (say a palm leaf) was usually used. After that, when paper came to be manufactured and employed in place of leaf, the word patra changed its meaning accordingly. It meant 'a sheet of paper', 'a leaf of book', and now with the evolution of newspaper, the same word is significant. The history of the meaning of ghay', a pitcher, then a chronometer-pitcher, a chronometer, such as dhap ghay', and lastly a watch or a clock, is similar. The names of seeds denoting weights define the actual economic system of the Indians.

Compare

ratti, a seed of the Abrus Precatorius, =1/96 of a tola.

V

máchá < máca, a kind of kidney bean = 1/12 of a tola.

With the increase of professions, trades and interests, the same words have been applied to various objects and ideas. gold is a bullet to a soldier, a reel of yarn to a tailor, a pill to a patient or to a physician. nari, is a drain to a householder, a vein to a physician, a vegetable to a grocer, and a stalk to a gardener.

More examples—

pustak < M. Per. posta, parchment, is now pothi (pustiki), a book.

tár, a thread, a wire, a string of a musical instrument, and a telegram.

shishi, in Persian means 'a cup', and as the cup was usually made of glass, the word has since been employed in this sense and also to mean 'a mirror'.

mashál is a torch in Arabic. It has come to mean a firebrand in Hindi.

rets is related to sand. It was, perhaps, a sand-paper. But now it means 'a file' which is made of iron and which is, however, used for the same purpose.

H. arhat, commission, may be compared with Skt. adadhati, directs, puts down, and Pkt. adahai, orders. arhati, was first a person who directed business or ordered articles of merchandise. But now he is a commission agent.

Skt. tańkakah, a stamped coin, especially of silver, > H. taká, a two-pice copper coin.

Skt. tanke, a weight of silver equal to four mashas, but H. chatank = 60 mashas, not six tankas or 24 mashas.

2. i(e). Cultural conditions: National and Individual.

These examples fully prove that meanings change as culture changes. The more a nation has advanced in culture, the more numerous and diverse are the acceptations accumulated by the terms of which it makes use. The scope of meaning is conditioned by the state of the culture of the individual speaker or even the listener. Individuals understand the meanings of words according to their experience and cultural conceptions. Note that the peasants,

shopkeepers, and wandering tribes have each their own vocabularies unintelligible to others. The same words may signify different objects to a boy and to an old man, to a woman and to a man, to a citizen and to a rustic. The different effect of abusive language on a villager and on a cultured citizen is a notable example.

Similarly the scope of meaning is conditioned by the state of the culture of the whole community.

disduals, a line of lamps, the Divali festival; hukká páni. smoking pipe and water, community relationship; dharma, duty, righteousness, religion; divala burning of a lamp, bankruptcy; rakeabandhan, lit. tying of protection, the Solono festival when sisters tie a cord on their brothers' arm; pane, one of the five, an arbiter : ek'veni, a woman with one braid of hair, a widow : antwigrah, persistency in truthfulness, civil disobedience; hardian, a man of God, a Sudra; and hundreds of other historical words have true significance for those who intimately understand Indian institutions, ancient as well as modern. It may also be noted how the words dharma, religion, ácar, character, vyav'har, conduct, ahlasa, non-injury, viváh, marriage, var, a bridegroom, etc. have raised a variety of conceptions in different ages according to the cultural standards of those people. It may further be added that the words miriafin, shameless, nástik or káfir, atheist, pápi, sinner, etc. change in meaning not only in the different times of the history of a nation but also with different peoples speaking Hindi. Semantic evaluation is, in main, a cultural question.

The degradation of several words is also due to cultural causes.

kotheváli, housemistress = prostitute.

mahajan, a great man = banker, shopkeeper.

tatti, a shelter = latrine.

(For further details see the Section on Pejoration in the next chapter.)

Foreign words change their meanings due to diversity of character in foreign culture and our own.

Compare-

das'gáh (Per. gate), shrine, mot (Eng. companion) chief coolie

pharad (Per. list, account), outer fold of a quit amir (Per. command), a

garib (Ar. a stranger), poor khat (Per. line), letter

hasár (Per. presence), Sir steshan (Eng. place), Rlv.

The Spirit of nationalism which hates foreign elements is also responsible for the degradation of words from other languages. Compare-

yari (Per. friendship), illicit connection cálák (Per. expert), clever,

nafar (Per. a number of men) servant, labourer ustádí (Per. mastery), trickry duniyásáz (Per. God), cheat, flatterer cunning dimág (Ar. brain), pride, .

2. i(f). Influence of National beliefs.

The history of manners and beliefs, customs as well as superstitions is indicated in the changes of meaning presented by the words aut (Skt. aputra, childless), fool; vadhita (orig. pained), obliged; sanicara, (born on Saturday), unfortunate, having dirty habits; randi (Skt. randa, widow), prostitute; vámá (orig. left), wife (as she has to be kept on the left); etc.

The prejudice for righthandedness is shown in the changed meanings of daken which now means 'expert' or 'strong'. The broom is called barh'ni (lit. increaser) to ward off any evil attaching to the act of removal. bav'la is related to air, but it means 'a mad man', as the popular belief says that a man goes mad when affected by air. vreals originally meant a Sudra girl. It now signifies 'a woman in menses' as she is as untouchable as a Sudra.

More examples are-

parvatari, enemy of the mountains = Indra. mil'kanth, one with a blue throat = Shiva. sarvagras, full morsel = full eclipse of the sun or the moon. manh'kala, face-black == infamy.

There are words the meaning of which was entirely different from now and often absolutely incompatible with our present tendencies, habits and creeds, scientific as well as religious, social as well as political. An analysis of the past history alone explains such disparities. Sometimes the meaning may be due to situations that we cannot reconstruct. It is possible to conjecture from the change of the meaning of prahara (H. pahar, pah'rá) from 'stroke,' to 'time' or 'watch', that the time was marked by giving strokes; (compare also das baje, ten strokes, 10 o'clock), or of canki from a square frame to 'a police station' that the first police station was simply a shed resting on four posts, or of satrapat, from 'dropping a thread' to a 'beginning' that that was, perhaps, the custom at some time, or of Skt. pattah, a tablet, to H. pattá a title-deed, that the latter was, perhaps, given on a tablet, or of Skt. manikár, a diamond smith, to H. manihár, a vendor of glass-bangles, that with the changing conditions the same profession undertook the sale of artificial diamonds, jewels and later of glass ornaments.

Skt. dakşina, on the right hand, H. dakkhin, South; şadyantra, a six-fold machinery, a conspiracy; sarhesati seven and a half, evil.

2. i(g). Growth of Human Institutions.

One of the most potent reasons for the development of new senses is that language is called upon, and does its best, to cope with and express all the self-enriching and growing branches of human knowledge and aspiration.

randyam (originally, a compound of juices or medicines, an elixir vital) = chemistry.

mudran (originally, to scal) = printing, also compare chápá. Skt. romiká, hair, > H. rúi, cotton.

Skt. mantrin, one familiar with Vedic hymns, a magician, a secret-keeper, > H. mantri, minister, secretary.

Skt. mahámátra, great in measure, a great officer, > H. mahávat, an elephant-driver.

Skt. pradhána, chief minister, commander-in-chief, > H. pradhán, president.

har'kárá, (Per. a man for every business), messenger, a postman.

Many words become technical terms in this way. Compare yog, shastra, chand, vijnyan, dharma, mandir, etc.

With the rise of new ideas and new institutions, new words, new in form or new in meaning, are of course, essential.

The progress in the material conditions of existence appears with

the meaning of gárá, vehicle, a railway train, a motor car; Skt. maáca, a platform, > H. maájá, a bedstead, Skt. dhánya (from, dhans, wealth), grain, > H. dhán, rice; Skt. sthána, place, > H. thán, stable, and tháná, a police station; surkhá, red stuff, pounded brick, rouge.

The progress in general education is attested by the changed meanings of guru, an elderly person, a preceptor, a teacher, a religious head; vidyálay, a study-room, a school, a school of an indigenous character (also compare páth'shálá), mahávidyálay, a big school, a college; parcá (Per. a piece), paper; grantha, a bundle, a book, a religious book, a book (again).

These examples fully prove that meanings change as human institutions grow. With the increase of professions, trades and interests, uses of the same words become restricted and differentiated.

- Examples
 - moh'rá—foremost part of a thing (general), front of the army (military), a chessman (by players).
 - saz—preparation (< Per. saxidsm, to prepare), concord, equipment, military kit, musical instrument, harness.
 - mánjhá—middle, an island in the middle of a river, the trunk of a tree, a bed, a feast given in the middle of (now before) a marriage.
 - kil-a nail, peg, bolt, the core of a boil, a pimple, a gold pin worn in the nose, the axle of a potter's wheel.
 - mál-root, cause, foundation, origin, principal or stock, the original text.
 - ikká—single, a single-horse, gig, a pony vehicle, a wrist ornament, a champion who serves alone without being attached to any corps, one in a playing card.
 - ras—for a doctor is an oxide, for a grocer it is quick-silver, for a fruit vendor it is juice, for a poet it is sentiment, and so on.

2. ii. Emphasis.

2. ii(a). Shifts on emphasis.

A change in customs or environments, as we have seen, is in

fact a change in emphasis. A word, originally, denotes some prominent element of an object. In course of time it comes to denote the whole object containing several elements. At various periods of its semantic development emphasis shifts from one element to another.

Skt. brata, pledge, now denotes, 'fast', as in all religious ceremonies, before taking a pledge, a person was required to keep fast. The emphasis from the pledge shifted to the fast which was just a secondary element. bhandárá, originally a storehouse for utensils (Skt. bhándágára), came to mean simply 'a storehouse'. ámá, originally a coin equal to 1/16 of a rupee, also denotes 1/16 of a share, the idea of its being 1/16 receiving more emphasis than that of its being a coin. Skt. dronam, was a wooden cup. But later the emphasis shifted from wood to the cup, so that H. domá, means "a leaf cup."

Sometimes the emphasis on one element may be so strong that the other elements are forgotten.

More examples-

H. gájar, a milkman (from gurjara tribe).

kathá (orig. a saying), story, a story of a religious character.

saaskar (orig. refinement), consecration, a sacred rite, impression on the memory.

saáskaran, purification, edition which may or may not be revised and purified.

ball, spike of corn, ear-ring.

sayáná, wise, a physician.

In this way meanings are transferred or restricted. See the section on "Restrictions" in the next chapter for more examples.

Sometimes the shift of emphasis leads to an increase in the range of applicability of a word, and meanings are generalized.

sikerá (metathesis of kasorá) was originally a bronze utensil.

It now denotes 'a pot'.

vyutpanna (lit, one well-versed in the etymology of words or the origin of things), expert.

cumpat, 'opea on four sides', 'loose', 'spoilt', and it may be used for animate as well as inanimate objects.

hmadi, girl, but it can now be applied even to an old female servant. Compare English 'boy'.

kumhår (lit. one who makes pitchers), makes various kinds of earthen pots. top'khana stores not only cannons but the whole artillery and the emphasis is laid neither on top nor on khana when it is used to mean the artillery itself, including soldiers and their equipment.

For more examples see the section on "Generalization."

Shift in emphasis from one part of a word's signification to another very often affects its function in the sentence.

yahán baitho is not equal to hán baltho.

The meaning of Skt. apar, other, more, different, is retained in the adjectival and adverbial uses of H. sur, but it has changed in the conjunction.

likhá (lit. written), luck (a noun).

Skt. prárabdha (adj.), begun, > H. prárabdha (noun), luck; or shrestha (adj.), best, > seth (n.), big man.

Also vide the chapter on Sematology of Grammar,

Clauses, like words, include a large number of ideas any of which may receive the emphasis.

- (1) jab súrya nikal'tá hai to prakásh hotá hai.
- (2) jab súrya nikal'tá hal to bhí ghátíyoá meá andhakár rah'tá hal.
- In (1), jab means 'when and because', and in (2) it means 'when and although'.

The following sentences mean differently according to the shift of emphasis on one or the other idea.

- (1) vah ghar se kháná khá áyá—he, and perhaps no one else, has taken his food.
- (2) vah ghar se kháná khá áyá—he has taken his food from his house and from nowhere else.
- (3) vah ghar se kháná khá áyá—he has taken food, nothing else, from his house.
- (4) vah ghar se kháná khá áyá—he has of course taken his food.

2. ii(b). Change of semantic value due to emotional causes.

In addition to their intellectual content words suggest certain

emotions. Sometimes the emphasis on the emotional element of a word becomes so great that the intellectual content is lost sight of. This may degrade certain words and elevate some others.

Examples—

maháráj, an emperor, is used as a flattering epithet for cooks and water-carriers.

sidhá, straight, is employed to denote a stupid person.

satyanash or sattanash, destruction of excellence, means simply 'depravation'.

shriman or shriyut, glorious, means only 'Mr', or 'Sir'.
mandir, house, is elevated and denotes 'a temple'.

kalash, a pot, means a sacrificial pitcher, or pinnacle.

Emotional emphasis is responsible for weak significance which results from this tendency to vivacity and exaggeration. Words like atyant, limitless, ghor, terrific, adbhut, strange, wonderful, now mean simply 'much or very'.

2. iii. Association.

2. iii(a). Association a factor of semantic restrictions.

The connection in which a word occurs is of great importance. By means of such connections the different possibilities of the apprehension of a word are minimised. Every word is restricted according to the associations it forms with other words or contexts. It makes a clear difference whether I hear the word caddar in a draper's shop or at an iron-merchant's. The meaning of ghorá is determined by varying circumstances. It is 'horse' in the stable, 'trigger' at the musketry, 'peg' in a wall, 'the knight' at chess.

dánv means 'a throw' in dicing, 'a stake' in gambling, 'a trick' in wrestling, 'an opportunity' in life, 'ambuscade' in hunting, and so on.

cál means 'gait' in walking, 'movement' in chess or strategy, 'custom' in society, etc.

When a word is spoken, its meaning is understood by individuals according to the association prevailing in their minds at the time.

When we hear or read a sentence, the words it contains usually explain each other. If one of their number is not very familiar to

V

us, we naturally seek to interpret it by the context. The idea which we thus obtain by guess-work may chance to be wrong, but it is generally rectified by the fact that the same word will reappear later in other sentences, explained by other words. In this way the meaning of every word becomes fixed in one's mind. It may chance to be right or wrong. Generally it is modified. The more frequently a word is used in different contexts, the more likely it is to be modified in meaning. Restriction of meaning is due to this kind of contextual association.

Examples-

dáná, a grain, in málá ká ek ek dáná-a bead.

panth, way, in nának panth, dádá panth, sikh panth, —a sect.

bááh, arm, in kot kí bááh—decve, merá mitra merí bááh—a defender or a supporter.

para, full, in pare nan, exact, para kam, complete.

ghar, house in rám ká ghar, home in hamárá ghar paájáb men hal, socket in alnak ká ghar, den in bheriye ká ghar and so on.

Thus context is a very potent factor in the semantic change of words. Every word has originally a wide significance, a hint, which is narrowed down by the context in which it occurs.

The sense of one word spreads to others placed in relation to it. In pitá ji ko mil áúú, pitá ji means 'my father', maláne us'ko bájá se pak'gá, bájá here means 'his arm'. It is in this manner that mandir has come to mean a god's house or temple, asemb'lá, the Legislative assembly and so on.

Words may express the whole context which is understood by association.

hán, nahin to, thik, acchá, etc. are such words.

Sometimes when a word changes in meaning it induces change in a number of associated words, either by encroaching upon their territory or by leaving certain meanings uncovered.

raj (originally 'pollen') means menses. With this change in the meaning of raj, rajodarshan, rajovati, rajasvala, etc. have all changed their signification.

Compare also the associations of bhát (orig. past) in, bhátebhátá, bhát'bádhá, bhátonmád, bhátiní, where it denotes 'spirit', 'evil spirit'. Skt. jyestha, eldest, > H. jeth, the husband's elder brother, jethani, the wife of the husband's elder brother, jethant, a son of the husband's elder brother.

Skt. jalpa, to talk, > H. jap, prayers, jap'ná, to repeat prayers, jap'fi, the prayer book of the Sikhs, japi, a devotee.

When bonds of the semantic family become relaxed or broken, there is nothing to prevent the meaning from wandering. Compare the meanings of cimks, formed from cimk, a square, a place, a police post. etc. It came to mean a seat, even a round seat. Consequently we have the words cimks-pah'rá, guard, cimksdár, a watchman, etc.

The meanings of danv, jal, banh above may be considered.

Also see the chapter on 'Polysemy', where it has been shown how a word accumulates various meanings when once it is allowed to denote a by-meaning.

A word becomes relatively more restricted as its associations increase. The word hindustání, an Indian, is more specialized in meaning than purus or manusya, man. hindú is similarly more restricted than hindustání, and mátáprasád more restricted than hindú and again mátáprasád sharmá is more specialized than mátáprasád, and mátáprasád sharmá kán'purí more specialized than mátáprasád sharmá.

2. iii(b). Generalization by Association.

A word usually denotes one prominent feature, as from $\sqrt{\ pat}$ is formed patra, a leaf, as it falls. But other associated features come to be expressed by the same word patra, letter, patra paper, patra also means a newspaper.

eyahs meant "blackness". But it is now used for ink of any colour.

Several words are extended in meaning by association. More examples—

mágar, belonging to a city, clever uncultured sanvár, belonging to a village, fool etc.

ashat, commission, < Skt. adhyatva, riches.

2. iii(c). Transference.

There are certain words which by association of ideas acquire a degraded sense.

jangal (a jungle), latrine.

dev'dási (a temple servant), a dancing girl devoted to prostitution in a temple.

bhadron (blessing), clean-shaven for mourning.

ráy sáhab (a title), a wicked person.

The degeneration of the meaning of a noun may be partly due to frequent association with disparaging ad ectives.

cál, bad custom, (orig. way).

chak'ná, to drink (wine) and to be intoxicated.

bá, bad smell, (lit. smell).

palisi, crooked policy. Compare the amelioration in kulaj, born of a good family.

Adjectives are affected in their turn by being regularly coupled with certain nouns, as-

cálák (expert), cunning magna (sunk), happy.

For more examples see the sections on "Pejoration and Amelioration".

Even words which have opposite meanings may affect each other by association. Compare adhar, lower lip, sadhar, upper lip; samás, compound, vyás, split. When one changes in meaning, the other does so as a matter of fact.

Every form of transference of meaning is, in fact, a case of association, which may connect two meanings of a word by analogy by contrast, or by connection of time and place or by the relationship of part and whole, cause and effect, and so on. Here one associated idea is considered in another.

For details and examples see the section on "Transference" in the next chapter.

Sometimes words get meanings by mere accidental association.

cini (sugar) was not manufactured in China, but it was probably brought into India first by the Chinese. zaraág'zebi ulcer has nothing to do with Aurangzeb. It first appeared in his army in the Deccan. rajái, has been connected in Hobson-Jobson with some Raza Khan. H. cándi, silver, is associated with Skt. candriká, moonlight: dvandva, quarrel, is connected with dvi, two, although it is not essential that when two persons meet there must be a quarrel. máschí, curd preparation is so called because, perhaps, it is found sticking to the moustache, másch.

2. iv. Analogy.

2. iv(a). Images of objects in words and meanings.

Analogy, in a way, is an accident of association. Semantic analogy is based on imagery. Images are very frequent helps in the formation of words and their meanings. The same word may come to denote other objects, similar in form or colour. In the Vedas parvata, adri, etc., words for mountains, are sometimes used for clouds.

In Hindi the number of such words is quite large.

Examples-

chachándar, mole, a firework, skandha, shoulder, canto, branch, leader, etc., súrajímukhí, a flower, a cracker, a fan, sarpiul, snake, a creeper, shabínam, dew, a cloth, moríní, pea-hen, an ornament, vaásh, a bamboo, backbone, arm-bone, dánvíní, lightning, a head ornament, til, sesamum seed, mole.

Words may come to represent things similar in any respect.

ambar, etymologically means a "cloud", connected with ambu, water, transferred to 'sky'. The sky was imagined to be a covering, and the image was extended to the 'cloth'.

darshan (sight) means 'insight' in philosophy. Not for nothing does 'I see' mean 'I understand'. Sight, among the senses, easily predominates as a synonym for comprehension. 'Seeing is believing'.

car hona, to be broken, to be absorbed.

their, high thought, is an image from their pahár, high mountain.

gah'rá soc, deep thinking, is similar to gah'rá pání, deep water, so far as its imagination goes.

2. iv(b). Transference of meanings.

Men in old times carefully studied the nature of birds and animals and compared their own feelings to them.

HINDE SEMANTICS

Terms like suar, kauva and gad'ha, as applied to men mean 'naughty', 'obstinate', 'stupid', etc.

Thus by analogy nouns came to be used as adjectives.

Analogical names of flowers, mountains and animals are interesting.

sárai mukhi, the sun-flower kukkut-shikhá, a flower anánás, (Arabic ain-i-nas) the kálátop, black hat, a eve of man, pineapple

kal'gá, crest, a flower gokh'rá (goksura), a flower mountain near Dalhousie

More examples of plants-

rudráksa, můsákání, hańs'padí, háthájori, hastidantak. atc.

Persons are sometimes nicknamed after animals. vah sher hal, he is a lion billé (lit. a cat)

totárám (parrot) sánd (a stallion), a loose kuttá (dog), a slave

Things are often named from animals.

kuttá (a dog), an obstacle gilah'rá (squirrel) a striped cloth

ghori (mare), a wooden frame tota (parrot), trigger of a gun kukkați (a hen), red cotton bhanará, a puppet, a peg in a craddle

youngman.

fan.

mor'nańkhi. (peahen-feathered), a certain state pleasure boat. Objects may be named after other similar objects.

burhiya ka kata, a fine sweetmeat

krmi janghá, black aloe kapar-kot, a tent (not a fort) dank (a sting), nib jhålar (a border), a sweetmeat

campá-kali (bud of champa flower), an ornament sher pańjá (lion's paw), an armour pańkhá (Skt. paksa, wing), a

2. iv(c). Abstraction & Concretion.

Semantic analogy may sometimes take us farther away from the original meaning of words. The abstraction of the meaning of the following concrete terms may be noted—

Skt. tádyati, strikes, > H. tár'ná, to reprove.

awlamban (originally, hanging), dependence, support. magna (originally, sunk), happy.

sar'ná (to burn, stink), to be in narrow conditions. súl (thorn, spear, arrow), pain.

Note the similarity in the concrete and the abstract objects or actions. The following abstract terms have similarly been concreted—

grám'tá (rustic state), village community. saháy'tá (help), a number of companions. jan'tá (birth, manhood), public. masti (intoxication), juice of trees.

2. iv(d). Generalization.

Analogy is a great factor in the generalization of meaning. Compare—

ghare ki gar'dam, neck of a pitcher, botal ká galá, throat of a bottle, nadi ki shákhá, branch of a river. pahár ki coti, top of a mountain, kathámukh, introductory part of a story, kursi ki pith, back of a chair.

2. iv(e). Partial Resemblance.

At times analogy is false and the word compared has been either misunderstood or misapplied. Note that miligay is not a cow but an antelope and that son'makkhi is not a fly but a mineral. Also compare—

kapar-kot (lit. a fort of cloth), a tent. kukkur'muttá (lit. dog's urine), mushroom. kan'kauá (lit. crow with ears), a paper kite. afim (ahiphena, serpant's foam), opium.

In such cases the analogy in appearance, function or relation is assumed. This phenomenon may be compared with the following.

2. iv(f). Popular Etymology.

ahiphena above is, possibly, a Sanskritizedsform of 'opium'. Folk

etymology, whereby a foreign word or an obsolete or quite new (even native) term or unfamiliar sound or meaning is replaced by one familiar or by a compound of a similar sound and with a signification which is generally intelligible, is also due to analogy.

In H. vacchanág (Skt. vatsanábha), note the substitution of nág (cobra) for nábha, as it is a poison. Skt. támrakút denotes 'tobacco', which has the same appearance as 'pounded copper'.

H. muńshipal explains a municipal(ity), which does keep a number of munshis. hathicok (lit, eye of an elephant), artichoke, H. mur'dá sankh (lit. dead conchshell), for Per. murdár sang, dross of lead, and H. bhasmá (lit ashes), for Per. vasmah, hair-dye, show common people's attempt to change words on the basis of analogy.

2. iv(g). Metaphor is simply analogy.

Metaphors, it may be noted in conclusion, are simply examples of the power of analogy in meaning. Our knowledge grows by comparing the unknown with the known. Our expression becomes clear by explaining the unfamiliar through the familiar. In all languages, even the most uncultivated, the metaphorical or figurative use of words is one of the most natural efforts towards expression. Unlike the preceding causes, which work slowly and imperceptibly, metaphor changes the meaning of words and creates new expressions on the spur of the moment. As such, metaphors may be considered as the chief cause of semantic change. Compare-

jag nátak, drama of the world bhav-ságar, ocean-world asilatá, creeper-sword kari dhup, hard sun

garam bájár, hot market mam'le ki tah, bottom of affair

jivan ki lahar, current of life caran-kamal, lotus-feet shánti-sudhá, nectar-peace mithi churi, sweet knife karuve vacan, bitter words man meá gánth, knot in heart.

2. v. Circumlecution.

Language, we have noted, has been struggling hard to express

ideas distinctly. But a cultured man must escape the common-place. He cannot always be direct. He may use good words to express something indecent, inauspicious, bitter or unmentionable, or he may employ bad words for good things. Thus euphemism and cacophe-

mism become powerful forces in changing the meanings of words.

Psychologically, circumlocution is due to nerevousness or lack of moral courage.

In Greek "Euphemizein" is to use words of good omen. H. W. and F. G. Fowler define it as "substitution of mild or vague expression for harsh or blunt one." Prof. Weekley in "The Romance of Words" speaks of euphemism as "that form of speech which avoids calling things by their names."

2. v(a). Euphemism, a question of decency.

Inauspicous and indecent words are avoided to diminish, to tone down, a painful evocation, or to soften tragic news.

shane (lit. cleanliness), latrines.

svargavás (lit. residence in heavens), death. gangálábh (lit. reception in the Ganges), death.

súr'dás (the name of the famous blind poet), blind.

sah'vas (lit. living together), sexual copulation.

sidhá sádá (lit. straight and simple), foolish.

Opposite words are employed to express any bitter ideas, a in dukán barháná, cúrí barháná, díyá barháná, seádúr barháná, etc. the use of barháná, to increase, for closing, breaking, extinguishing, wiping out, etc.

2. v(b). Personal causes.

Humility on the part of the speaker results in cuphemism.

jal'pán (lit. drinking of water), refreshment
dás (lit. slave), I
pán'pattá (a betel leaf), a
present
Courtesy towards respectable
persons demands euphemistic

language. The following are terms of this nature—
áp'ki sevá meń (in service),
to you
darshan dijiye (give sight),
come, sit
shrimán (glorious), you

language. The following are terms of this nature—
padháriye (cf. Skt. pradháraņa, keeping) go, sit
tash'rif le jáiye (lit. take away
your noble self), go
far'máiye (command), say.

2. v(c). Social and Moral Euphemism.

Euphemistic expressions may be used for unmentionable parts of the body, things or acts. Words connected with excretory functions and those that deal with reproduction are also included herein. Examples—

indriya, dand, lolo for penis
mahamans for cow's flesh
laghushanka for urinating
masik dharma for menses

páńv bhári, kacce din, god bhari honá, to be pregnant. Society also places tabus on certain expressions of this type.

Also note that Indian ladies usually do not mention the names of their husbands, who may be called—

munni ke kaka, the uncle of the baby, lalia ke lalia, the father of Lallu, sita ke bhayya, the brother of Sita, or ve. ap, he.

A lady once travelled to a place where her husband was appointed as police officer. She had not been to that place before and the husband could neither get leave to fetch her from her home nor come to the railway station to receive her. Now the difficulty arose as to how she would find his house. She asked a number of persons about the 'officer', about 'babajj,' about the man with moustache and dark face, about the Panditji from village Manauri, and so on. When all efforts failed and she was obliged to mention his name, she said, "It is the name of a city in Bihar". After all, she was directed to Gaya Prasad's house.

Husbands, 100, abstain from mentioning the names of their wives, though less commonly. Even words for 'husband' and 'wife' are used euphemistically.

2. v.

Compare-

merá ád'mi, my man, merá ghar válá, my housemaster, malik, master, for the husband; and sah'dharmacarini, co-duty-doer, ardhangini, the (better) half, grhini, housemistress, shrimati. the noble lady, etc. for the wife.

2. v(d). Religious emphemism.

Examples of religious euphemism are-

nalvedya lagana (to set up a dedication), to give offerings to a deity.

bhog lagana (to set up an catable), to give offerings to an

práu-pratiethá (infusing of life), consecration of an idol.

ác'man (sipping), sipping of water and rinsing the mouth before a ceremony.

pradaksiná kar'ná (to go to the right), a reverential salutation by going round.

carpámrta (nectar of the feet), sacred water.

The names of gods and goddesses are unmentionable. Compare the fact that Shankara, Shiva, Mahesha, Nilakantha, Mahadeva, etc. are all titles. Durga, Shakti, Candika, Bhag'wati, Kalika, are epithets. sankat-mocan is used for Hanuman, vighnaharan for Ganesha which itself is a tittle.

2. v(e). National euphemism.

The names of a dangerous or malignant being is avoided and often replaced by some epithet of a harmless or even complimentary character.

bar'ka (big), for a wolf kirá (an insect), a snake devi (goddess), cholera agá (master), a sikh bania. bhálú (the good one, cf. acchá bhalá), a bear mátá (mother), smallpox

In order not to materialize one's enemy, one does not mention his name. We say ve, dús're log or us par ke log for enemics.

'Going to Pakistan' has come to mean 'going to latrines'.

We may also include here unmentionable names of cities, towns, animals, etc., e.g. jammú is called bará shahar, big city, bandar, monkey, is called Hanuman.

There are such places and animals in each locality and it is a matter of more or less local superstition.

2. v(f). Ironical Euphemism.

Irony is also a form of euphemism, as—

mańgalámukhi, a prostitute mahátmá, crooked
haz'rat, rascal, wicked bholá, sidhá, a fool
bhale mánas (noble man) may be used to mean 'wicked'.

Flattery, which is only a courteous form of irony, is another cause of euphemistic use of terms, as bhaktaji for a potter, khalifi for a barber, jamadar and lal'begi for a sweeper, etc.

2. v(g). Euphemistic euphemism.

Sometimes a learned or scientific term is used as euphemism and this becomes popular.

Examples-

harijan (man of God) for untouchables, veshyá (orig. fashionable) for a prostitute, shuuc (cleanliness) for the call of nature, kám (desire) for sexual lust, etc.

In course of time some euphemisms become so stilted and affected that their former equivalents are reinstated. "Familiarity breeds contempt" and the forgotten words may be less familiar and less ugly.

That is why the words for 'death', 'prostitute', 'wine', copulation' and 'call of nature' are all numerous as well as varied, each being the result of a desire to hide the developed nakedness of its previous equivalent.

Compare-

mrtyu (death), svargavás (abode in the Heavens), kallásh'vás (abode in the Kailasa), deháát (end of the body), sharir'tyág (giving up of the body), prán'tyág (giving up of the soul), etc. for 'death',

randi (woman), veshyá (the fashionable), ganiká (one with a group of men), váráng'ná, vár'nári (a woman of the multitude), nagar nári (a woman of the city), etc. for a 'harlot',

váruní (of god Varuna), surá (of the gods), madirá, madya (pleasant, gladdening), mádhurí (sweetness), sharáb (beverage, cf. sharbat), kar'vápání (bitter water) for 'wine'.

cod'ná (goading), maithun (pairing), sambhog, bhog (enjoyment), sah'wás (living together), grámya dharma (rustic duty), for 'copulation'.

tatti (shelter), shane (cleanliness), jangal (forest), báhir (out-side), for 'answering the call of nature'.

Euphemism illustrates the humour of the peoplecaran'dasi is a shoe, and ram'rangi is wine.

2. v(h). Cacophemism.

Cacophemism, or calling good things bad, is an effort to avert the envy of gods, or otherwise to discredit them. Children are given such names, sometimes.

pavárů, thrown away kůrámal, godar'mal, etc., **putárů,** ruined **kallů, kálá,** black

rubbish ghináú, hateful

mangu, beggar.

páni (water) is used for 'ghee' at auspicious occasions.

Cacophemism is sometimes due to personal or secterian hatred or prejudice. Opposite parties are given bad names.

Examples—
nástik (non-believer)

nástik (non-believer) a sinner. pákhandí, (a heretic), opposite. káfir (ungrateful, unbeliever), a non-Muslim.

kaṭahula, (castrated), a Muslim.

mleccha (barbarian), a foreigner.

gori cam'ri (white skin), a European.

Terms of abuse may be employed as terms of endearment and inverted expression of love, as ullá, billá, bhullar, etc.

The main cause of circumlocution of the above types may be found in the mysterious power attached to speech: The word is god and the name evokes the thing.

2. v(i). General Periphrasis.

Besides Euphemism and Cacophemism, we find in our daily talk a large number of expressions which are not direct, curt and straightforward. In very lowly or friendly circles, or in addressing children, one may try to avoid technical or literary words by employing descriptive terms that are definitely indirect and round-about.

topi válá, man with cap, may refer to the teacher.

vah katorá sá, that thing like a cup, may mean 'a piss-pot'.

lamb'karna, one with long ears, donkey.

lálásrav, one issuing saliva, a spider.

miyáń mitthú, the sweet pet, a parrot.

mag'ráj, the king of animals, lion.

masidháni, ink-pot, for davát.

Periphrasis is an important cause of the restriction of meaning. Some persons are in the habit of employing circumlocution and thus giving their expressions meanings which they do not otherwise signify. These expressions are sometimes employed to hide the truth or the fact or the things.

This kind of periphrasis is effected in several ways—

- (1) By using an extremely vague phrase, such as vah calá gayá (he is gone), for 'he is dead', le gayá (has taken away), for 'has stolen', muáh mor'ná (to turn the face), for 'to retreat', alse hí (just like that); for some private business, etc.
- (2) By mentioning a significantly concomitant circumstance as in uth gayá (has lifted himself away), died, guriyon ká khel (doll's play), an ordinary matter, pet pújá kar'ná (to worship the tummy), to cat, battisi dikháná (to show the thirty two teeth), to smile, etc.
- (3) By using enigmatical or elusive language, especially by the use of the passive, as in **dekhá jáy'gá** (it will be seen) for 'I shall, perhaps, see to it'. **par'mátmá jáne** (God knows), for 'I do not know', huá hogá (might have happened) for 'I do not agree', and so on.
- (4) By employing another language, foreign, provincial or even dialectical.
- (5) By understatement and the negative statement as vah kuch pits par gaya hai (he is turned somewhat pale), for 'he is ill',

vah jis'ki ek tang kuch choti hai (he who has one leg short), for 'he who is lame', makan accha to nahin hai (the house is not quite good) for 'the house is bad' and so on.

(6) By abbreviation, as ti bi for tuberculosis, bi en ar for Bengal Nagpur Railway, shri for shriyut, Mr., pan. for Pandit, etc.

The number of abbreviated expressions is not much in Hindi. Otherwise, too, we see that a Hindi speaker is generally plainspoken, and that advanced literary language is more periphrastic than the rustic and colloquial.

Professor Carnoy gives another reason for periphrasis, namely, the desire to adapt oneself to the general sentiment suitable to the time, place and other circumstance.

The names of animals, in relation to gods, are different and quite restricted and allusive in meaning. Donkey is shit'id-vahan, carriage of Shitala Devi; rat is gamesh ki savari, carriage of Ganesha, and owl is laksmivahan, carriage of the goddess of wealth.

It may be noted that in religious ceremonies, several ordinary things are designated by special names. The use of particular words to create particular Rasas, by musicians, poets and orators, is a well-known instance of such circumlocution.

2. vi. Laxity.

2. vi(a). Misapprehension and misapplication.

We constantly use words with a very dim appreciation, indeed, of their full and exact significance. We select that part of the meaning only which for some reason or other has made an impression upon our minds, and very often this part of the meaning is merely subsidiary and accidental to the proper signification of words. But we are too lazy to realize their proper signification, and so pass words on to others as mere shadow and fragment of their former selves. We guess a meaning: It is easier than to find it out in a dictionary. Men, says Locke, having been accustomed from their cradle to learn words which are easily got and retained, before they know or frame the complete ideas which they express, usually continue to do so all their lives. "Men take the words they find in use amongst their

neighbours, and that they may not seem ignorant of what they stand for, use them confidently without much troubling their heads about a certain fixed meaning."

A certain human frailty attaches to the process of semantic change.

Realization of meaning is largely an incident of experience. A meaning grows and changes with the growing and changing experience of an individual. The uncertainty and unstability of experienced conditions results in the uncertainty and unstability of meaning. But experience comes in due course of time, or it may not come at all. It is usually indirect. Before knowing things fully people learn their names and, therefore, there is vagueness in their use: The original meaning is either widened or narrowed. The fate of foreign words in our language is the evident result of this laxity on our parts. When a word is borrowed from another language, it may come to diverge widely in meaning from its earlier sense. It may be restricted, extended or degraded in signification.

Examples-

Specialization of gir'dávar (orig. a touring person), a village official, khas (orig. straw), a scented grass, murgá (a bird), a cock, hal'vá (orig. a sweetmeat), sweet pudding.

Generalization of bahi (orig. a revealed book), an account book, bahar (spring), pleasure, season, zar (gold), wealth.

Transference in nim (half), light, nihál (plant), happy, savárí (act of riding), rider, carriage, daftar (file of papers), office, tah'síl (receipt), a part of a district, etc.

In a way every new word is foreign, and the meaning attached to it by the listener depends on his mental attitude. Change of meaning is mainly due to vague apprehension of meaning—misunderstanding of the word and the object.

The mental condition of the speaker also largely determines meaning change; and, often, we are led by the sentiment of person using a particular word to convey a particular sense. Ignorance, dire need, and misapprehension result in laxity in the employment of words. Compare the use of cor in tam'cor, cock, < Skt. támracáda, káájí, in káájí hans, kine house, and ballam in ballam'ter, volunteer. Laxity is another incident of folk-etymology.

Contamination and malapropism are also due to our mental confusion, or inattentiveness.

2. vi(b). Imitation.

Sometimes the change is due to the authority of the older people. Words like dresses have fashions and the younger generations learn them by imitation. Fashion has the attraction of novelty, the fear of appearing less wise and less alert than the neighbours. Imitation is a condition of laxity. A child hears a stupid fellow as an 'ass'. In such cases the primary meaning is, from the very outset, dispensed with as an aid to right comprehension. The child, not knowing fully the distinction between the usual and the occasional, will, thus, be inclined to adopt the occasional meaning. The departure of the occasional meaning from the usual meaning is a starting point for the change of signification. As soon as these departures repeat themselves with a certain regularity, what was individual and momentary becomes gradually generic and usual.

The phenomenon explained above occurs almost daily in our lives and it is too universal to need any examples from Hindi.

2. vi(c). Ellipsis and meaning change.

The tendency towards economy of expression, towards greater ease, is another result of laxity, easygoingness or inertia, and this, again, is a powerful agent of semantic transformation. In every situation, in every profession, there is a certain idea so present in the memory that it seems unnecessary to express it in speech. It is natural to suppress what is self-evident.

Specialization is often simply the result of an ellipsis.

puri = jagannáth puri
patra = samácár patra
samáj = árya samáj,
brahmo samáj
kápi = copy-book
mandir = dev mandir
mel = mail-train
samvat = vikramí samvat
sammelan = hindi sáhitya
sammelan = nágʻri pracárini
sammelan = nágʻri pracárini
sahit = nágʻri pracárini
rel = railway train.

We all have a stock of abbreviated expressions intelligible to our intimate friends. Some day they may become general.

Sometimes generalization results from the omission of some adjunct.

gaveş'på (search after a cow) now means research.

Skt. ghotaka (a poor horse) = H. ghorá, a horse.

Ellipsis results in deterioration of some words and elevation of certain others.

cál (movement) also means a bad move, trick.

muhárta (time) means auspicious time.

kulin means belonging to a good family.

nazar in nazar lag gai, evil eye.

By omitting a noun, the qualifier may take its place as a substantive. Thus abstract ideas are made concrete.

Skt. karkara (hard) = H. kák'rá which means stiff leather.

karhi (lit. boiled) means boiled rice.

achút, an untouchable, low-born person.

bare, elderly, elderly people.

The omission of the noun is one of the chief means by which names of places or persons become names of things.

Compare—

káshmírá, Kashmir cloth hang'lá, Bangla type of bid'ri, Bidar 'smith-work' pańjábi, Punjabi type of

hálan, Holland cloth már'kin, American cloth

bay'kat, the system started by Captain Boycott; etc., etc.,

The principle of economy of expression has also caused the abridgment of forms and terminations. Instead of so many affixes and terminations, we now use a special number of free forms. se, for example, may mean 'from', 'by', 'than', 'with', etc. in ghar se dûr, râm se pita gaya, sab se accha, lâthi se pito. This law of specialization, as Breal calls it, has greatly simplified our language.

Ellipsis also results in compounds which denote a particular

meaning different from uncompounded forms.

thag'muri, an intoxicant gomukhi, a bag for heads brahmadoe, murder of a Brahman. Also see p. 85-86.

Ellipsis in sentences (which are grammatically correct inspite of it) may lead to different signification.

Compare-

- (1) malá ne us'ko mantri banáyá, I made him secretary. and malá ne us'ko banáyá, I befooled him.
- (2) In yah kam pah'le kar'na cahiye, pah'le means first; but in yah kam ane se pah'le kar'na cahiye, pah'le=before.

- (3) mainne use sunain, I gave him a frank talk.
- (4) tumhen kya pari hai, what object have you?

Also see the chapters on "Idiom and Usage" and "Sematology of Grammar".

3. LOGICAL CONDITIONS.

3. Logical Conditions.

Semantic change is mostly psychological. Linguisticians of the highest rank have expressed similar opinions. Thus, Paul says that all linguistic development is fundamentally psychological and subconscious. But when he comes to details, even Paul distinguishes between the logical, psychological and grammatical aspects of a sentence. For the sake of specification, we require a category which may represent the in evential processes at the back of semantic change. For instance, when a particular meaning is generalized or a general meaning particularized, the phenomenon involves an inferential process, however subconscious it may be. Again, as we have noted in the chapter on Synonymy, a differentiation of meaning has generally a raison d'etre reference, e.g. before the 19th century "Philosophy" signified Physics as well, but it was found that 'Philosophy' was inadequate for the denotation of physical phenomena and 'Physics' was introduced. At one time the first term in the following sets was general, but later distinctive terms were evolved.

sammán, honour, and pratisthá, prestige.
vyápár, trade, and vyav'sáy, commerce.
kathá, a religious story, kahání, a story, galpa, a fiction story.
desh, country, pradesh, place, pránt, province.
shikṣá, (OIA—Phonetics) education, dhvani vijáyán, Phone-

artha shástra, Economics arthavicár, Semantics bhásá shástra, Grammar bhásá vijáyán, Linguistics.

This is called logical differentiation.

But a psychologist would say, of course, we can talk about the logical aspects of statements and so also of words and semantic changes, but the idea of these being logical occurs when we begin ٦

to think about these changes after they have actually come into being. We can then say that they involve inference and are, therefore, of logical category. But can we talk of logical conditions of those changes? Even inference, it should be remembered, is a psychological process. We can call it logical only when the conclusion of the result of the process of inference can be claimed to be validly drawn. Thus the logical category is super-imposed upon the original psychological processes or conditions.

We leave this controversy to a general linguistician. But it must be admitted that psychology plays a much greater part in semantic change than logic. Yet logic does enter in the main process. For example, when a cook, if a Brahman, is called a pandit, because he is a Brahman, it has to be explained logically, though it has a psychological background, too. We should take all conditions of genus-species interchanges as logico-psychological. Again the phenomenon of misunderstanding is, strictly speaking, logico-psychological. But it is predominantly logical, for, as distinguished from mere perception, all misunderstanding or understanding of meaning is, fundamentally, a conclusion, and all conclusion is inferential, being based on a middle term.

Differentiation, as a logic, works consciously in the interest of clear thinking, and it is an important cause of restriction of one or generalization of the other of the two synonyms. The rise of the word skál has restricted the meaning of páth'shálá to a Sanskrit or a primitive type of school or a girls' institution.

Compare-

kumár (prince) and kuńvárá, Punj. kvárá, a bachelor.

bar (a fence) and bari, a garden.

samudra (a sea) and sagar, an ocean.

mel (meeting) and melá, a fair, etc.

Then, we find logical processes in arranging words of a speech. The logic of every language fixes the order of words in a sentence. Any departure from that logical order changes the meaning of the sentence and also of the individual words affected.

Compare-

- (1) kyá vah citra banátá hal? does he draw a picture? and vah kyá citra banátá hal? i.e. he does not draw good pictures or what picture does he make.
- (2) bandar ghorá láyá, the monkey brought the horse, and

shorá bandar láyá, the horse brought the monkey.

(3) kar le, you are allowed to do it, and le kar. having taken. or, here do it.

More of it will be discussed in the chapter on "Sematology of Grammar".

We may also here include the terminology of trades, sciences and arts, which gives consciously new meanings to existing words.

A few examples of effort entering the sphere of semantic change may be taken from Hindi philology to show how ordinary terms may be employed to give special meanings-

agragam. prothesis vivogávasthá, analytic

abhyas, reduplication vaktavya, bát, unit of speech

stage vikrta boli, slang etc., etc.

dhárá, category

sampradáy, tradition

Every scientist, every artist or artisan, every businessman and in fact, every man does use conscious effort at times to twist the meaning of an existing word in order to express his idea which is new and for which he does not know the exact word.

- 4. STRUCTURAL OR PHILOLOGICAL CONDITIONS.
 - (i) LINGUISTIC GROWTH.
 - (ii) Phonological conditions.
 - (iii) GRAMMATICAL INCIDENCE.

4. i. Linguistic Growth.

Besides psychological and logical conditions that cause change in meaning, language itself proceeds on certain conditions of its own. A child or a savage with his limited vocabulary cannot limit the use of his words. Sometimes he uses them in a wider and sometimes in a narrower sense than their use demands. A child will include a sofa under the name of a chair, or an umbrella under that of a stick. Such a use is sometimes strengthened and supported by the example of the adults.

We have got quite a good number of nursery words in our language.

HINDI SEMANTICS

Examples-

káká—uncle, grandfather, father, child, brother.

bábá-father, grandfather, child, mendicant.

tat-father, brother, son, dear one.

Neologisms in meaning are invented by writers as well as by individual speakers. Once adopted by general usage, they obtain civil rights. Literary neologism has less chance than popular neologisms, as language is a popular institution, indeed. Universal suffrage has not always existed in politics, it has also existed in the domain of language. The force of usage alone is the rule of language.

Thirdly, like everything else which has life, language is subject to two contrary forces, one originative and the other conservative. The true progress of language consists in gradually yielding to the first, and allowing itself to be held back by the second; or else, if too conservative, language fails to cope with new ideas, new objects and new actions, and if too revolutionary, it loses coherence, confidence and popularity.

We must not forget to mention the desire children and many grown-ups have to play with words, to find amusement in the creation and propogation of new words and in attaching new meanings to old words.

4. ii. Phonological Conditions.

Phonological variations also help variations in meanings. We have noted that, often, when two words are identical in form and thereby produce confusion of meaning, their phonological forms are changed in order to remove ambiguity. Doublets are striking examples of this connection between sound change and meaning change. Reference may also be made to Chap. II, Section 4.

cán; flour, cáná, lime, cáran, powder, < Skt. cárna. páv, one fourth, and páňv, foot, < Skt. páda bari big, bari, a cake of pulses, < Skt. vatiká bach'rá, calf, and bacherá, colt, < Skt. vatsatara pińjar, skeleton, and pińj'rá, cage, < Skt. pańjara ket, fort, and kothá, house, < Skt. kothakam mithá, sugar, and mitthi, kiss, < Skt. mieta; etc. More examples of phonetic-semantic doublets may be of considerable interest here.

kát'ná, to spin, but kát'ná, to cut.
uj'lá, bright, ujálá, light.
kokh, lap, koách, corner of scarf.
pallav, leaf, but pallá, scarf.
dand, staff, punishment, but dandá, staff.
pakṣa, side, wing, but paákh, wing.
jatá, matted hair, root, but jar, root.
cakra, a wheel, but cák, a potter's wheel.

Phonetic change is, thus, favourable to meaning change, since it conceals its former relations with other words which have remained nearer to the initial meaning or have gone off in different directions.

When two words have the same or very similar phonetic form, the meaning of the unfamiliar one is associated to that of the better known.

Examples-

takor'ná, to foment, but takor, a tap, associated with thokar, a stroke.

katthá, catechu, may be taken as kathá, story.

zamáná, a time, may be understood as jamáná, 'to sat'.

kácá, a lanc, and kácá < Skt. krmáca, a bird.

gaj, elephant, may be confused with gaj (Per. gaz), a yard. khair, a tree, may be understood as khair, welfare.

Brahmanical writers perform remarkable feats of ritualistic exegesis upon the basis of such semantic identifications of phonetically similar words.* We have already noted this tendency in the chapter on "Polysemy".

When a word is misinterpreted by means of its appearance, that is, when the meaning of some similar but unrelated word is given to it, we get what is called a "malapropism". This is also due to the existence of paronymy in our language. In mai sabhá ki avasthá kyá hogi, avasthá is used in place of vyavasthá. In is shabda ká up'yog kis artha meá...prayog should have been the right word. Note kushal ji kaháá halá for shukla ji kaháá halá

^{*}Aufrecht's note to Aitareya Brahmana, i. 2, 3, p. 432. Roth on Nirukta, p. 221.

virog is the malapropic form of viyog, separation.

botam, a button, is the result of the association of godám with battan, a button.

Contamination is the result of the phonetic and semantic similarity of words.

4. iii. Grammatical incidence.

The meaning of a term largely depends upon its function in the sentence. Words change their signification according to their use as active or passive, as masculine or feminine, as singular or plural, and so on. The subject will be discussed at length in the chapter on Sematology of Grammar. A few examples may be given here.

jáná in vah jáy'gí, she will go, and ham se tumhárí bát na suní jáy'gí, your talk will not be heard by us.

khel in mere sáth khel, play with me, duniyá ká khel, the show of the world.

gangá á gayá, Ganga (a man) has come, gangá á gayí, (the Ganges (river) has come.

khoj (masc.), trace, khoj (fem.) search.

it'ma, so much, it'me, so many.

sara, the whole, sare, all.

Note that soar as a conjunction means 'and', as an adjective 'different', as an adverb 'more', and as a noun 'what else', and so on.

kahin, as an adverb, may mean 'somewhere', 'more', 'probably', 'ever' according as it is used in the sentence.

Compare-

kahiá rakh do, mujh se vah kahiá sukhi hal, kahiá hadai na ho, patthar bhi kahiá pasii'te hala.

The morphological bond (say of a suffix) uniting two words often prevents them from acquiring a new meaning. But when it becomes weakened, a change in meaning is frequent. On account of the specialization of postpositions, mad, ko, se, par, ká, etc. create important variations in meaning.

For examples and further details see the chapters on "Sematology of Grammar" and "Syntactical Meaning."



IMPORTANT VARIATIONS

1. CLASSIFICATION.

1. Classification.

When a word changes in meaning, it must mean either more than it meant before or less, or it must refer to something altogether different from what it designated formerly. Palmer divides semantic changes into two main groups: those which involve a change in the word-referent relation (i.e. where a word denotes a new referent, and those in which the word signifies a different aspect of the same referent.

If the meanings of words are conceived on the analogy of space, it can be said that they expand or contract, and that, by expanding and contracting, they shift. Whately classifies changes into Generalization and Specialization.

Breal, Vendryes, Tucker and a number of other scholars prefer to take three classes, namely, Restriction, Extension, and Transference. In a sense, the term 'Transference', indeed, includes Restriction and Extension, which simply mean transference of genus to species and vice versa. But sometimes shifting occurs directly, not through contraction or extension. Moreover, the terms specialization

and generalization are so wide that it would be proper to look for sub-classes. Under 'Restrictions' may be included cases of transference of meaning from genus to species, and under 'Generalizations', those from species to genus only. Transferences of a particular nature, such as Pejoration, Amelioration, Concretion, Abstraction, Metonymy, etc. may be grouped separately, as they are changes of special types.

It may be realized that there is still some scope for further classification under pure 'Restrictions' and 'Generalizations' as well, but it is for the general student of Semantics to analyse the question fully and comprehensively. For instance—there are changes that are conscious, and changes that are unconscious. Changes may be temporary, semi-permanent, or permanent. The permanency of changes may also be varied, a permanent change in one circle may be only temporary or unheard of in another. Again, changes of meanings may flourish at the cost of the original meaning, which is lost, or they may exist side by side with it. Sometimes intervening stages of meanings do not survive. Generally, marginal meanings simply develop out of the central meaning. A change in the real sense of the term is appreciated only when it has resulted from a series of variations, some of which must have disappeared. The number of such words, we shall find, is not very large. As a rule, variation, evolution or development is the right name for the phenomenon displayed by the meanings of our words in the course of their history. Lastly, it is advisable to classify psychological, logical and structural changes separately.

The 'Laws' of meaning-change are not yet discovered and are probably undiscoverable. Interesting observations can be made of certain tendencies and phenomena, but beyond this we can hardly go. In the case of phonetic change the mind plays comparatively little part; in changes of meaning it is, of course, the one factor. We can say that some words widen their meaning, that some narrow it, and that some shift it, and we may often be able to trace the association of ideas which brought about these occurrences. But we cannot reach any fundamental principles which determine that a certain class of words shall necessarily widen rather than narrow their meaning, or via versa.*

^{*}Tucker, pp. 373-74.

2. RESTRICTIONS.

- (i) ORIGINAL RESTRICTIONS.
- (ii) EXTENSIONAL RESTRICTIONS.
- (iii) GENUS TO SPECIES.
- (iv) DIFFERENTIATION.
- (v) Modifiers.
- (vi) ELLIPSIS.
- (vii) Professional and Technical Terminology.
- (viii) RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL RESTRICTIONS.
- (ix) HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL RESTRICTIONS.
- (x) PROPER NAMES.
- (xi) GRAMMATICAL RESTRICTIONS.

2. i. Original Restrictions.

A study of Sanskrit grammar and etymology shows that specialization is a common phenomenon in OIA. The meanings of the following words should apply to many objects, but they denote one specific object from the very beginning. Specification of action in relation to a particular being or object starts from the time such words are formed.

Compare-

car (one who moves about). messenger nayan (carrier), eye shir (that tears), head chanda (pleasing), rythm in poetry virya (the quality of a brave man), semen virile málya (related to the root), price kunjar (that moves in a parav (for lying), stage lar'ka (the fondled one), a boy

sarpa (one who moves), snake pavak (the purifier), fire guhá (the secret place), cave ur (going), breast man (the quality of a Muni), silence dhánya (related to wealth). rice vatsal (related to a child), dear bark (that grows), flood bower), elephant lagan (that is fixed), land tax cháv'ní (a stretch), cantonment.

According to Yaska a thing gets its name from its particular action, which is then a specialized sense of that word only. The V

same action may be performed by different classes of beings but it is a particular individual or a group of individuals that gets its designation from this source.

2. ii. Extensional Restrictions.

Several words are formed out of the same root (dhátu), as one by one they become limited in meaning, the same source is drawn upon, and other new words are formed, which again in their course become restricted in meaning and thus the process goes on.

Compare-

bháv, feeling, bháví, future, bhávíná, perception, bhávak, effecting, bhávík, natural, bhávuk, having a poetic taste, bhavan, mansion, bhav, god, bhavitavya, destined, bhavya, grand, bhavídíy, yours, etc. from / bhú, to be.

brhat, large, brahma, God, brahmá, god Brahmá, brahmá, medicirfal plaut, bráhma, Vedic, bráhman, a member of the priestly class, bráhmá, the goddess of speech, brhaspati, Lord of Speech, from V brha, to grow.

tol, weight, tolá, 1/40 of a pound, tulá, a weighing scale, tul'ná, comparison, tulya, similar, equal, tulik, artist, from $\sqrt{\text{tul}}$, to weigh.

janma, birth, jantu, a creature, jan, man, jáni, jáni, wife, beloved, jan'ni, mother, janái, midwife, jan'ná, to bring forth, jan'pad, a country, from / jan, to produce.

Suffixation and prefixation is a useful device for the restriction of meaning.

Compare-

bas'nå, to live, bås, residence, båså, hotel, basan, clothes, båsan, utensils.

bhándá, utensil, bhandiyá, an earthen vessel. máns, flesh, masúrá, gums, massá, a wart.

bhita, mound, bhit ni, nipple of a woman's breast.

bhát, cooked rice, bhattá, allowance.

seńdur, red lead, seńduri, red cow, seńduriya, a plant with red flowers.

Per. surva, red, H. surkhi, pounded brick, rouge. Skt. rohita, red, H. rohi, red fish. Also compare áhár, food, prahár, attack, up'hár, gift, from \sqrt{hr} , to take away; and svabháv, nature, prabháv, effect, anubhav, experience, from $\sqrt{bh\acute{a}}$, to be.

Tadbhava words have a chance to become specialized in meaning. Examples—

- H. ság, a green potherb, < Skt. sháka, vegetable.
- H. pokhar, tank, < Skt. pauşkara, having to do with lotuses.</p>
- H. bilor'na, to churn, < Skt. vilodayati, stirs.
- H. dhussá, shawl, < Skt. dúrsham, cloth.
- H. kan'ki, particle of broken rice, < Skt. kanika, a grain.

Derivatives, sometimes, deviate from their original basis in respect of meanings and become more or less special words with specific meanings.

Examples-

lavan, salt, but lávanya, beauty.
dhan, wealth, but dhanya, blessed.
mukh, face, but mukhiyá, principal.
jańghá, loins, but jaghanya, hateful.
krpá, mercy, but krpan, miser.
bhram, confusion, but bhramar, a bec.
car, a spy, but cáru, beautiful.
gaṭthá, bundle, but gaṭhilá, fat.
puńj, heap, but púńj, capital, wealth.

The discussion of a single base with its wide range of meanings, all specialized from one very general sense, is profitable and interesting in investigating countless words.

2. iii. Genus to species.

Words which formerly denoted a whole class may gradually come to mean merely a particular portion of that class.

Examples—

rmrga (Skt. animal), deer; mur'gá (Ar. bird), cock.
madak (lit. intoxicant), a mixture of opium and betel leaves.
máád (Skt. scum), scum of boiled rice.
khájá'(lit. eatable), a kind of sweetmeat.
anna-(lit. eaten), cereals; annádya (food), > anáj, grain.

cáná, lime, cán, flour, < Skt. cárna, powder.

The most universal necessaries of life have often a very general name at the outset. Experience will show that if the name of a class of objects includes more than one species, the name of the class may easily become more narrowly applied to the species which is most prominent.

Further examples-

Skt. upasthána, placed, > H. bathán, pasturage.

Skt. vigraha, Pkt. viggaha—division, > H. bighá, a division of land = 5/8 acre.

Skt. tumbati, distresses, > H. túńb'ná, to teaze cotton.

Skt. tandra, row, > H. tándá, a line of cattle.

Skt. chedana, an instrument for cutting, > H. cheni, chiscl.

Skt. kuttayati, pounds, chops up, > H. kutti, chipped straw.

Skt. lanha, a metal, > H. lohá, iron.

H. lagán, something fixed, tax, land tax.

Skt. vaidya, learned, later Skt. and H. 'a physician'.

Ar. hal'vá, sweetmeat, > H. haluá, a kind of starch pudding.

2. iv. Differentiation.

When a word is equally applicable to a number of different objects which resemble each other in some respect, or to a vague or general category of ideas, it may at any moment become specialized by being used to name one of those objects or express one of those ideas. And if this particular application gains currency in the language, a new and specialized sense is the result. Giving a distinct stamp, a differentiated meaning is the one great attempt of a progressive language.

Compare-

Skt. ustra, buffalo, camel, > H. unt, camel.

Skt. rkya, bear, star, > H. rich, bear.

Skt. akṣara, God, sound, a syllable, letter, word, now means 'a letter',

Skt. kambala, blanket, dewlap, a sort of deer, a wall, now means 'blanket'.

Thus, of the various meanings of a word, one which is popular becomes distinct and the others are dropped. Also see the chapter. on Polysemy.

When vagueness of meaning is materialized and defined, restriction is clear.

átmá (Skt. body, being, nature, God) now means 'soul' only.

paákti (orig. line, group, earth, fame, a collection of five) now
means line only.

parvat (orig. mountain, rock, tree, a vegetable) is mountain only.

durga (orig. forest, difficult, pass, fort, calamity), fort only.

The restriction of meaning in synonymous words is sometimes very peculiar. Differentiation results in specification of one of the words.

Examples—

Skt. dugdha and kaira, milk, H. dudh, milk, khir, rice boiled in milk.

Skt. sańskarana and sańskára, refinement, H. sańskaran, edition, sańskár, impression, rite.

Skt. puspa and kusuma, flower, H. puspa, flower, kusum, saffron.

Skt. patra and parna, leaf, H. pattá, leaf, pán, betel leaf.

Skt. bij and Per. dáná, grain, seed, H. bij, seed, dáná, gram.

We have also discussed this tendency in a previous chapter on "Synonymy".

2. v. Modifiers.

More specific meaning may be due to a modifier—an adjective or an adverb, e.g. book, red book, this red book, this red book of mine.

Modifiers enable us to go further in specialization. The method of attaining a high degree of specialization is analogous to that of reaching the roof of a building by means of ladders,

Similarly the thing qualified limits the meaning of the qualifier, e.g.

dhire, slowly, dhire bolo, talk slowly.

lál, red, lál pag'ri, red turban,

sir, head, sir pira, headache.

merá, mine, merá bhái, my brother.

The more associations or adjuncts and predications a word forms in speech, the more restricted are its significations.

Compare-

rám, Rama, may be the name of a person, living or dead.
rám ne ájáyá mání brings him in particular circumstances.
rám ne pitá kí ájáyá mání defines his characteristics still further.

dash'rath ke putra rám ne pitá kí ájáyá mání. dash'rath ke putra rám ne prasannatá púrvak pitá kí van jáne kí ájáyá mání.

These adjuncts restrict Rama's personality and limit not only the meaning of 'Rama', but also of his qualities and actions.

2. vi. Ellipsis.

Words possess the power of absorbing the meaning of the surrounding context, which can then be discarded without appreciable loss. We have discussed in the last chapter the force of ellipsis in the restriction of meaning. Specialization frequently results from the omission of some adjective or modifier, as in—

patra (= samácár patra), newspaper
sampádak (= patra sampádak), news-editor
sámagrí (= havan sámagrí), material for Homa
mańjan (= dantamańjan), dental polish
sáhitya (= várhmay sáhitya), literary collection
kuńvar (= ráj'kuńvar), prince
bar'si (= shráddha bar'si), death anniversary
avadhi (= kálávadhi), time-limit
bháṣá (= hindi bháṣá), Hindi language
Compare Punjabi káj (= byáh káj), marriage
astami (= krṣṇa janmáṣṭami), Krishna's birthday on the

8th lunar day in Sáwan. Here are some cases of the omission of the noun qualified—

dul'çá-a necklace with two madhy

strings tarjani—the warning finger sandhya—the time when day

and night meet

bid'ri-Bidari metal-work

madhyamá—the middle

Examination tipmshya---a three-storeyed

balding
gárhá—a coarse cloth
itálian Lislian cloth

italiyan—Italian cloth

Compare-

Lahndi muhár (monthly), monthly rent, H. máh'várí, monthly

It appears that ellipsis is a very common and natural cause of the restriction of meaning.

More examples-

bhágol (lit. earth), geography gulál (lit. rose-red), a red
rel (rail), railway train powder
nuk'rá (silver), a white horse
bisá (having 20), a dog having
20 nails.

Compare Punjabi dal (leaf) a leaf of Tulsi plant, canthá (fourth) 4th mourning day, palúthá (eldest), the eldest son, etc.

It is often impossible to discover that any definite limiting words have actually been omitted, but equally clear that specialization has been accomplished by such an omission or ellipsis in thought. The omitted idea needs never have been expressed in plain words. gath'bandhan, nuptial tie, did not start as var'vadhú'gath'bandhan, tying of the knots of the bride and the bridegroom. kul'pati, a teacher in charge of ten thousand boarder-students, was not formed by omitting a number of words the meanings of which are implied. In visarpa (circulating), a skin disease which circulates, a complete phrase has been omitted, leaving the word to express the whole idea. This omission may be conscious or unconscious.

Restriction by ellipsis is analogous to the art of writing which started as picture-writing consisting of elaborate drawings of objects and was progressively simplified.

2. vii. Professional and Technical Terminology.

Each profession, each caste and each class, contributes to this contraction of meaning. There is hardly any profession or any walk of life which does not use general words of the language to its own advantage and give them a peculiar impress of its own, making them restricted in meaning.

goli,—(1) reel of thread to a tailor, (2) ball to a cricketer, (3) bullet to a soldier, and so on.

beni-(1) braid of hair to a lady, (2) the confluence of the

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Ganges and the Jumuna to a pilgrim, (3) a piece of wood uniting two pieces of a door to a carpenter.

boli—(1) dialect to a general linguist, (2) speech to a layman, and (3) bid to an auctioneer.

jam—(1) barley, to a grain merchant, (2) a weight to a weighman, and (3) lines on the finger-joints to a palmist.

tiki—(1) mark on forehead to a Hindu in the temple, (2) vaccination in the municipal dispensary, (3) a gift in marriage, and (4) commentary to an editor.

Compare Punj. munná, a post of a spinning wheel, a plough handle, a platform for sleeping, etc.

Thus we find each class of the population tempted to employ for its own use the general terms of the language. The more a word is used by different classes, the more are the varieties of its semantic restrictions; or, as Breal points out, "the more advanced the civilization of a nation, the more varied are the restrictions of meaning."

Breal's remark, however, requires a little modification. We note that specialization is also a characteristic of primitive speech. Compare the fact that primitive people have a word for every tree but, no word for 'tree'. But the civilized man's particular is coherently, though often sub-consciously, connected with something general, e.g. anthropoid, (tail-less ape) is a sub-division of apes, ape a further division of monkeys, and monkey a division of mammals, so on and so forth. The civilized man's general is always sub-consciously present in the particular. The advanced man's struggle is always to connect his developed particulars with something general. The savage's particular remains where it is: it entirely lacks synthesis.

It is this kind of synthetic restriction which is a characteristic of professional terminology. Advancement in culture restricts meanings for the sake of exactness.

When general terms are too much restricted by a profession, they become technical terms. Most of the technical terms are instances of specialization.

Examples-

bhár (load), a measure of 100 seers. bhááv'rí (turning), movement of the bride and the bridegroom round the sacred fire at the end of the marriage ceremony. muáh'díkháí, (showing of face), presents given to the bride for showing her face to the relatives of the bridegroom. wibhram (mistake), putting on of ornaments, etc. in wrong places through flurry by a heroine in amorous mood. varam (choosing), to select a worthy person or priest for an auspicious ceremony and to do him honour by offering presents. vishequm (distinction), a word which qualifies or defines a noun. khii (opened, broken), the soil which, having been kept fallow for a long period, is broken or cultivated for the first time. jath (< Skt. yaştih, a stick), the axis or roller of an oil or sugar press; etc,

More examples-

vigrah—warfare (in politics), and 'analysis' (in grammar).
sandhi—peace (in politics), and 'assimilation' (in grammar),
dhátu—root (in grammar), and 'vital elements of the body' (in medicine).

Compare-

Punj. hattha, (hand), a measure of 18", káthí (wood), saddle. It may be noted that ellipsis plays an important part in the making of technical terms. Certain thoughts expressed primarily by a number of words are little by little restricted to a small number of words or even a single word.

jal'dhárá = jal dhárá ke níce balthe rah'ne kí tapasyá.
yog = alsá tap jis se átmá Enr par'matmá ká yog prápta
ho sake.

bandobasta -- bhúmikar lagáne Eur ekatra kar'ne ká bandobasta.

etc., etc.

2. viii. Religious and Social Restrictions.

The seal of religion restricts meaning. Examples—

grantha (book), a sacred book as of the sikhs.

mandir (house), temple.

shráddha (devotion), devotional offering to manes.

saákirtan (recitation), singing of holy songs.

lilá (sport, performance), acting of the life of Krishna.

muhárta (time), auspicious moment.

yátrá (journey), pilgrimage.

prasád (favour), sacred food.

Customs also have restricted terminology.

Compare-

shadi (happiness), marriage.

bar'si (anniversary), death anniversary.

mundan (shaving), tonsure ceremony of a child.

kriyá (action), funeral ceremony.

gunná (going), going home with a bride.

brat (vow), fast, Punj. varat.

sálú (cloth), a red cloth worn at ceremonies.

Punj. sańskar (< sańskara, ceremony), funeral.

Native words are often replaced by terms belonging to higher levels of society. In such cases, the word displaced tends to vanish in favour of the term supplanting it, unless it is retained in special connotations.

Compare-

rájá (Skt. king), now means a Hindu prince, and Per. bád' sháh = king.

tithi (Skt. date), now applies to lunar days, and Per. táríkh = date of the Christian month.

tap (Skt. warmth), fever, and Per. gar'mi = warmth, heat.

Note that the words mrgaya, hunting, game, and akhetak, have been replaced by Per. shikar, and shikari. Similar replacements are guptacar, spy, by Per. jasus; das, servant, by Per. nukar; udyan, garden, by Ar. bag; shighra, soon, by Per. jaldi, etc.

2. iz. Historical and Geographical Restricions.

History and Geography also place restrictions.

Compare-

divali (a line of lamps), the Diwali festival in October-November in celebration of Rama's return to Ayodhya.

dashah'rá (the tenth day), the tenth of Ashvin lunar month in celebration of Ráma's victory over Rávana.

hij'ri (left, given up), the era which started from the date when Mohammad left Mecca for Medina.

gadar (rebellion), the Indian Mutiny of 1857.

sikkhásháhí (Sikh rule), anarchy and disorder that prevailed in the Punjab after Ranjit Singh's death. lakh'dátá (donor of lakhs), Qutub-ud-din Aibak who was a very liberal King.

ganga (river), the sacred river Ganges.

sindh (sea, river), the Indus river.

dakkhan (south), the Southern India.

parab (east), Eastern U. P. and Bihar.

himalsy (the abode of snow), the series of mountains in Northern India.

bikaner (a beautiful city), name of a particular town in Raiasthan.

2. z. Proper Names.

The above are some of the instances of common nouns becoming proper. A common name may also be understood as proper. We say malay'giri, Malai Hills, not knowing that Malai in Dravidian means 'mountain'. Compare also—

kán'pur shahar, which would mean the city of the town of Krsna.

bikaner nagar, the city of beautiful city.

gir'mar shahar, the town of the hill town.

hindustan desh, the country of the country of Hindus.

ya. pi. prant, the province of the Uttar Provinces.

In fact pur, már (< nagar), pá. (province), sthán have lost their original meaning in the above examples and become parts of compound proper nouns.

Descriptive names of persons and places are similarly restricted.

vanshidhar (the holder of a flute), lord Krsna.

mar'siah (the man lion), an incarnation of Vişnu connected with the story of Prah'lad.

haridvár (the gate of Visnu), Hardwar.

panjab, (the land of the five rivers), the Punjab.

prayág (the centre of sacrifices), Allahabad.

Patronymic and matronymic names are applied generally to the head and not to all the children as their literal meaning denotes.

Reamples—

vásudev (son of Vasudeva), pártha (son of Prthá), Arjuna Krapa gádgey (son of Gangá), Bhisma

jan'ki (daughter of Janaka), Sita.

Linear names may also be considered here.

Examples-

rághav (a descendant of Raghu), or raghunandam (one who is the joy of Raghu's family), or raghunáth, the master of Raghus, for Rama; páńdav, a member of Pandu's family, for the five Pandavas.

Names for God, bhag'ván, (the Fortunate Being), ishvar (the Lord), par'mátmá (the Supreme Soul); for earth, prthví (the expanded), bhúmi (the stationary); for hell, narak (an unpleasant place); for heaven, svarga (the shining place), are also originally common nouns which now denote proper names.

Titles and surnames come to denote definite persons in a locality. Rai Sahib, Rao Bahadur, Dewan Bahadur, Gandhiji, Sapru, Varma, Vajpai, Dvivediji, etc. generally refer to single persons according to the associations of the speaker and the listener.

Nicknames are also of this type.

Also compare the pen-names of poets and writers which system has, probably, come from Persian. These are now proper names, in fact, as nirálá, suman, baccan, nalin, rákesh, premi, etc.

These titles are further restricted if they are rare, as-

ak'bar—Jalal-ud-din Akbar sitare hinda—Raja Shiv **bhár'tendu**—Harishchandra **vikramáditya**—Chandra-

Prasad

gupta II.

As a matter of fact, most of our proper names are actually common nouns. But they are restricted to particular persons and places.

Compare-

shiv, one who does good gamri, a white girl iláhábád, a town of goddess jodh'pur, a town of warriors bhag'vati, a lady of fortune durgs, the inaccessible bhat'mer, a town of warriors pane'vati, a place with five banyan trees.

lambodar, long-bellied, kumbhakaraa, one with pitcher-like ears, gir'dhari, one who holds the hill, kraaa, a black man, ganesh, the lord of people, hamuman, one with a chin, hi.aday, an abode of snow, gopal, one who takes care of cows, are all significative words so much so that, even as names, they are translated. But they are restricted in their connotation.

We have noted before that a proper name may be further restricted by a surname or adjunct (p. 173).

2. xl. Grammatical Restrictions.

Specialization of parts of speech, declensions and conjugations, terminations of gender and number, prefixes and suffixes, is a common feature of the analytical Hindi evolved from the synthetical Sanskrit. Single words or word-fragments have taken upon themselves the function of several semantemes.

Examples-

se has taken the place of Skt. -tar, -tam, -iyas, -istha and a large number of terminations of the instrumental and the ablative cases.

The plural terminations - 4 m and the oblique -o m in modern Hindi serve the purpose of a host of ancient terminations.

The simplification of so many nominal and verbal forms of Sanskrit is another instance of specialization.

The subject mainly concerns morphology and should not detain us here.

In English, the definite article is used to narrow the extent of signification. Hindi has no definite article. It, however, employs various devices to define meaning. These are—

(i) Qualifying words, such as adjectives, adverbs and pronouns. Compare ád'mi, man, and saccá ád'mi, a truthful man, atyanta acchá ád'mi, an extremely good man, vah ád'mi, that man.

(2) The perception of nearness common to the speaker and the hearer. shahar jão, go to the city; vah skál se áyá, he came from the school; per ke nice, under the tree. Also note that de-áb in the Punjab is the land between the Beas and the Sutlej, and in the United Provinces (now Uttar Pradesh) between the Ganges and the Jamuna. cank in Allahabad and Benares are different 'square markets' and are readily understood there.

It is this common perception which has specialised the signification of the names of certain persons and places which were, originally, common nouns.

Examples-

sindhu, ocean, river, > H. sindha, the Indus, Sindh province.

gaágá (lit. a river) > Later Skt. and Hindi = 'the Ganges' shyám sundar, the black beauty, for Krishna the black one. gir'nár (< girinagar, a hill town), a hill station in Gujrat. himálay (the abode of snow), the name of the series of mountains in India.

páțan (< Skt. paţţanam, city), is the name of a town in Gujrat.

devi (goddess), Goddess Durga.

Also consider words expressing relationship. Even if the relation exists on one side only, reference is unmistakable. mátá jí á gaiá, my or our mother has come, pitá jí kaháá halá, where is your father?

The perception may be supported and defined by signs made by the eyes or the hands or by other gestures.

Certain words refer to specific objects on account of their common use, as-

dakşin (south), South India, viláyat (country), England.

(3) Past utterances of the speaker. Once the definite sense is grasped, the same sense may continue to attach to the word throughout the further course of conversation. stri me sam'jhá ki ve áj ácnge, parantu sáhab ne patra tak na likhá, vah deví ghab'ráí—kare to kyá kare?

Here stri and devi refer to the particular woman named Rádhá in the story, and ve and sáhab to her husband who is a police officer.

Restrictions of this kind are common in narratives, descriptions and compositions and between persons who have a common understanding of the subject.

- (4) Sometimes a closer definition is required. miyáá, man, mahal, palace, and patra, paper, for example, are restricted in bárhe miyáá, the old man, ráj mahal, royal palace, and samásár patra, newspaper. But they are still indefinite, unless there be other factors in the situation which tend to single out an individual.
- (5) A definite sense spreads from one word to others placed in relation to it.

Examples-

malane us'ko bahu se pak'ra. Here bahu means 'her arm'.

3. I.

(6) Emphasis results in specialization of this type. Compare—

ram vahán se a gaya, Rama (perhaps none other), came away from that place.

ram vahan se a gaya, Rama came away from that place, he might have gone to some other.

rám vahán se a gaya, Rama has come and he is here.

3. GENERALIZATION.

- (i) VAGUE TERMS.
- (ii) TRANSFERENCE.
- (iii) Analogical Generalization.
- (iv) FIGURE OF SPEECH.
- (v) DIFFERENTIATION.
- (vi) OMISSION OF THE MODIFYING SENSE.
- (vii) Species to Genus.
- (viii) COMMONIZATION OF PROPER NAMES,

Generalization is a relative term. In a sense, every word other than the name of an individual is general. It is specialized or restricted in comparison with the more general term. Dog is only less general than animal, bulldog less general than dog, and Jack still less general than bulldog. Vájapyáyana holds that all words are expressive of class? We restrict them by relative use.

Widening, it is true, appears to be comparatively rare. Since the aim of the language is to express thought more and more adequately, it follows that language tends rather to a more precise than to a less precise application of a word.

3. i. Vague Terms.

Still in our language there are numerous words of vague or complex signification, such as acchá, good, burá, bad, bahut, much, which have a host of shaded meanings.

In every language there is a special stock of words that mean little or nothing, but may stand for almost anything, as vastu, thing,

bahut acchá, all right, very well, ek bát kah'ní hal, I have to say one thing, abhí kiye detá hán, I shall do it just now, mará suniye, please listen a little, etc.

Such unconscious "flourishes" in speech were once used in a definite sense, but now they have faded into a vague and shadowy condition.

The word becomes so very general that it ceases to distinguish anything in particular from everything else. That is, a term that can be applied to everything means nothing, as a man who is equally intimate with everybody has no real friends.

More examples—

ád'mí, a man, a woman, a human being including a child. sab'jí, greenery, vegetation, vegetable, herb, etc. ghám'ná, to move, to stroll, to walk, to rotate, etc. log, people, men, women, children, any persons in plural. nári, woman, lady, wife.

3. ii. Transference.

Many examples of so-called widening are in reality cases of transference, from time to place, from one sense to another, from part to whole, from one part to another, from one object to another similar object, from one profession to another, and so on. The phenomenon of polysemy has already been dealt with in Chapter III, and it has been noted how meanings of words expand. Expansion by transference will be discussed in the next section. A few examples may be given here.

sávan, name of a month, a song sung in that month.
farásis, France, printed cloth from France.
bhár, load, responsibility.
pith, back, seat, chair, throne.
makán, residence, building, house, home-land.

devi. goddess, a lady.

Compare Punj. kandá, thorn, a small scale, a swelling in the throat, a fish-bone (also H. kásátá), dryness or roughness of the tongue, a spur.

Guj. pat, cloth, a curtain, a badge, a scarf, a roll, a catalogue, schedule, a map.

3. iii. Analogical Generalization.

The effect of analogy has already been discussed. Correspondence of shape, length, breadth, size or function may be applied to other objects and thus words are extended in application. tikat is extended from 'railway ticket' to a 'pass', 'stamp' and 'receipt'. lat sahab, a lord, is applied to the Viceroy, Commander-in-chief, provincial governors, even if they were not lords. purá (< Skt. putakam, fold, pocket, wallet), packet. pújá, worship, offering, bribe, fine. Also note kántá, thorn, used for 'fish-bone' or massá, mosquito, a wart; púńch, tail, tail-end, appendage.

Compare—

Punj. car, peg, overgrown skin.

Guj. cáápat (a clasp), a lock, the key of a machine, a screwpress, a fish-hook, an instrument of torture.

Real or assumed resemblance in appearance, function or relation thus tempts us to use the words denoting one class for other classes of objects.

3. iv. Figure of Speech.

Generalization may be due to some special figure of speech.

Examples—

curamani (a head ornament), best.

cappa (the breadth of four fingers), a little space.

H., P. colá (shirt), body.

sár'dás, a blind man (after Surdas, the blind poet.)

Compare Punj. hams (< Per. hafis, scholar who has learnt the Qoran), a blind man.

The verb is the part of speech which presents the most numerous examples of expansion. Note the meaning of banáná, in kur'si banáná, to make a chair, hajámat banáná, to cut hair, kisi ko banáná, to befool, kám banáná, to accomplish some work, etc.; kar'ná, to do, in ghar kar'ná, to build a house, to settle, roti kar'ná, to cook food, sáf kar'ná, to make clean, thikáná kar'ná, to find a place, ráj kar'ná, to administer, pár kar'ná, to go across, etc.; rah'ná in vah rah'ti hal, she lives there, khare rah'ná, jto keep standing, rah'ne do, leave it, kisi ke rah'te, in some one's presence,

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rah rah kar, again and again, rah jana, to be left, etc.

Also see the chapter on Idiom and Usage.

3. v. Differentiation.

Of synonymous terms, one may be differentiated by being generalized in meaning.

Compare—

gánv, village, dehát, the village and its fields.

pattá, leaf, patra, leaf, paper, newspaper.

gappa, gossip, false story, galpa, a short story, false or true.

dás, servant, Per. bandá (servant), man.

citra, painting, Per. magshá (painting), chart, map.

3. vi. Omission of the Modifying Sense.

Some words imply objects or actions of a particular nature. In course of time the modifying sense elides and the word denotes the whole class.

Examples-

Skt. ghotaka, a poor horse, > ghora, a horse.

Skt. karpata, old cloth, > kap'ra, cloth.

Skt. gavesaná, search after a lost cow, now means 'search'.

Skt. gosthi, cow's assembly, means 'assembly'.

Skt. mauna, the silent conduct of a sage, now means 'silence'.

Skt. sthálí, an earthen dish, > H. thálí, a plate.

3. vii. Species to Genus.

Instead of designating one category only the word may come to designate the whole class, as—

máí (< mátr, mother), woman.
dám (orig. a copper coin), price.
rupayá (rupce), money, as in bahut sá rupayá cáhíya.
bháí (brother), kinsmen, friends.
syáhí (black ink), ink of any colour.

In the Punjab shiválá (Shiva's temple) = temple, dhelá (love-songa of the Rajput lover, named Dhola) == lovesong.

Compare Mar. kádambari for 'novel' after Bána's work with

Instead of denoting one set of things a word may extend to more than one set.

Examples-

prajá (Skt. children), subjects, children.

sasur or Punj. samh'rá, wife's or husband's father, < shwashura (Skt. husband's father).

war (Skt. chosen husband), husband, bridegroom.

khalási (Ar. zalási, a tent-pitcher), a labourer (in the Punjab and Sindh).

nal (pipe), water-pump, spout, tube, tap, cylindrical case.
dúdh (milk), milk of animals, juice of plants.

barfa (Per. snow), snow, ice.

Sometimes the word denoting one sex is used for the whole class, male as well as female.

Examples-

ghorá, horse and mare totá, parrot, male and female billi, he and she-cat kuttá, dog and bitch.

Note also that there is no word to denote opposite sex in the following—

jug'nú, glow-worm
khat'mal, gnat
cil. vulture,

uilú, owl,
macchar, mosquito
mak'ri, locust
mainá, Myna bird
ctc.

A word in singular may be used for plural, as bhail, brother, brethren, patthar, stone, stones, ret, sand, sands, jan'var, animal, animals.

3. viii. Commonization of Proper Names.

Proper names made common are also cases of generalization.

In yashoda hamare ghar ki lakşmi hai, lakşmi means an auspicious girl.

In kaliyug ke bhim, bhim means a brave man (ironically).

bharat, an actor (after Bharata, the father of Indian Drama.)

bibhinan (name of the brother of Ravana), a traitor.

maj'au, a thin person (after Majnu of Iranian legend).

shankarácárya is now a common epithet of the religious heads of the sect founded by Shankarácárya.

Extensions are also available in titles, class-names and surnames,

seth (the best person), a rich man, a shopkeeper (in Sind).

cándál (one sprung from a Sudra father and Brahman mother), Sudra.

ang'res (Englishman), erroneously used for all whitemen, Europeans and Americans.

bangali may be living in Benares, Allahabad or in the Punjab.
khatri may not be a warrior, as the word denotes, but also a businessman.

mar'vari is not necessarily a resident of Marwar.

yavan (orig. Greek), a non-Hindu.

rumi (Roman), a Turk, a European.

phirangi (Frank), applies to a European or Eurasian.

Also note common names among Hindi speakers, such as krana, rám, hari, mohan, sohan, nának, gangá, prem, chotá, bánke, rádhá, which apply to hundreds of men in India.

Also consider the folk names which are proper only in form—dámásháh, an insolvent person, shekh cillí, dreamer, lál bujhakkar, a wiseacre.

- 4. OTHER TRANSFERENCES.
 - (i) PEJORATION.
 - (a) Association.
 - (b) CULTURAL DEGRADATION.
 - (c) FIGURE OF SPEECH.
 - (d) SPECIALIZATION.
 - (ii) AMELIORATION.
 - (a) Association.
 - (b) FIGURE OF SPRECH.
 - (c) ELLIPSIS.
 - (iii) CONCRETION.
 - (a) PERSONIFICATION.
 - (b) QUALITY OR STATE FOR OBJECT.
 - (c) QUALITY OR STATE FOR PLACE.

- (d) Action for Object.
- (e) ACTION FOR WAGES.
- (f) Action for Place.
- (g) ELLIPSIS.
- (h) Modifiers,
- (i) GRAMMATICAL USAGE.
- (iv) ABSTRACTION.
 - (a) Symbolic Representation.
 - (b) Action for Quality.
 - (c) OBJECT FOR QUALITY.
 - (d) OBJECT FOR ACTION.
 - (e) ADJECTIVIZATION.
 - (f) DIFFERENTIATION.
 - (g) METAPHOR.
- (v) SYNECDOCHE.
 - (a) PART-WHOLE.
 - (b) SINGULAR-PLURAL.
- (vi) METONYMY.
 - (a) CAUSE-EFFECT.
 - (b) RECEPTACLE-CONTENTS.
 - (c) PLACE-PRODUCT.
 - (d) AUTHOR-WRITING.
 - (e) THE SIGN AND THE SIGNIFIED.
- (vii) Analogical Transference.
- (viii) Allied Transperence.
- (ix) EVOLUTIONARY TRANSFERENCE.

4. Other Transferences.

"The name of anything", says Aristotle, "is either its own name or one transferred to it from something e'ze". The Romans had the proverb: "Everything has two handles". This is very true of words. Almost every conception has two aspects,—subjective and objective. A thing or person is either an active agent or an affected object. There is close reliance between the cause and the effect, between the part and the whole, between the place and its product, etc. Transference of meaning occurs between two allied ideas or aspects of an idea. It relates to things spacially, temporally or casually associated,

Specialization and generalization are also cases of transference, the transference of species into genus and genus into species. Under this section, however, we shall discuss the causes and incidence of forms of transferences other than restriction and generalization.

4. i. Pejoration.

Descent, we know, is easy, and words, like people, show a propensity to fall away from their better selves. Moreover, it is in the nature of human frailty to take pleasure in looking for a vice or a fault behind a quality.

4. i(a). Association.

Semantic pejoration is mainly due to the bad associations in which words are frequently used in the current language.

A. Almost any term of reproach or word that suggests inferiority may come to imply moral badness.

Examples-

suar (boar), a rascal ghatiyá (less), inferior, mean chudrá (little), prostitute daridra (poor), wretched guádá (from Gond tribe?), a disorderly characterless person.

Compare Punj. mandá (< Skt. manda, slow), bad.

B. The degeneration of terms designating servants may also be noted here.

dasyu (orig. a tribal name), a slave, a Sudra, dás'tá, service, thraldom, chok'rá (a boy), menial servant.

Punj. gullú (Per. ghulám, servant), a joker.

C. Fashions exist in words as well as in dress. Some words fall into disrepute simply by being neglected by educated people, so that they become in course of time the peculiar property of the backward people. Words used by rustic people and avoided by urban speakers become vulgarisms.

lautha (staff), penis, a fool ghautá (bell), penis pád'má, to break wind cod'má (to urge), to copulate.

Also compare the expression tum bhí nipat shah'rí he, you

are cunning, and vah gaávár hal, he is a fool; cf. dehátí or Punj. peádá (villager), rustic, uncultured.

D. There are certain occupations and conditions in life the associations of which are the reverse of noble or distinguished.

camari (the work of a cobbler), mischief, cheating.

jang'li (from a forest), wild, barbarian.

cambe (caturvedi Brahmans), a gluttonous class.

dev'dásí (god's servant), dancing harlot.

pandá (< pandita a Brahman), toll-collector at a river, coolie, cf. páni pánde in Eastern U. P. and Bihar railway stations. mahájan (a big man), a Bania.

E. Sometimes the element joined to the original meaning is derived from the context.

cál (movement), a wicked move, as in cál call, played a trick.

lati (< Ar. Plat, habit), mischievous, Punj., il'ti

gandha, bú (smell), for bad smell.

dhangi (one with a method), selfish, cunning.

Compare H., Punj., Lah. calittar (< Skt. caritra, conduct), fraud, Guj. hál (condition), wretched circumstances.

F. Take words which have developed meanings opposite to the original ones.

asur (orig. means 'lord of life'), demon, is degraded on account of the supposed negative prefix.

mahur (< Skt. madhura, sweet), poison.

gah'ri chan'na, to be friends, to be enemics.

khasam (Ar. enemy), husband, master.

Opposite terms are related terms, and transference of related ideas is easy.

4. i(b). Cultural Degradation.

In some words degradation is the result of change in our cultural thinking.

purus (highest being, soul, body), meaning person, shows our egotism.

bhát (past), pret (living beings)=djin, evil spirit.

ant (< Skt. agutra. sonless), wretched.

krpan (pitiable), miser.

VĪ

(Note here the effect of cultural thinking on meaning change, The Arvans have thought that a miserly fellow is pitiable, and that one who does not give away his money in charity is an enemy).

Words connected with superstitions become degraded. Words for 'left' (being inauspicious) are liable to deterioration and replacement. Compare kharva, khabba, which now mean 'crippled', in Bombay báin.

jammú and other place-names are not mentioned in the morning for fear of their inauspiciousness.

Also see the section on "Euphemism" in the last chapter for more examples.

B. Consider, too, the effect of pretentiousness and desire to be elegant, learned or rational.

mohan'bhog (lit. an attractive food), starch pudding. laghushanka (small doubt), small bathroom, urinating. mahaprasad (the big food), meat,

caran'dasi (the servant of the feet), shoe.

Compare the Oriya name amrtabhanda for the papaw fruit, and the Punj. karah par'sad for starch pudding.

C. Borrowed words are generally degraded in another country. Compare the following Perso-Arabic words in Hindi-

cálák (active), tricky bávarcí (steward), cook dárogá (officer), jail warden mizáj (condition), pride kánún'go (law officer), a village accountant

khalifá (caliph), barber vakil (Ar. magistrate), pleader dalál (manager), go-between,

khán'ki in slang Hindi and Bengali means 'prostitute' < Per. Ar. zángáh, shrine.

Also Compare Puni. jantar'main (gentleman), a showy modernized person, or Telugu pille, son, H. pillá, puppy,

D. The effects of party warfare, of offensive nationality and of the strife of interests and of opinions, often give rise to bad senses of words.

muslim ligi (member of the Muslim League), a narrowminded Muslim.

hab'shi (Abbysinian), black barbarian

yavan (Greek), foreigner gorá (white), a westerner tami (Tommy), a white soldier of a low rank

barbar (from Turkey), Barbarian katahuhi (castrated), a Muslim

pharaigi (Frank), a foreigner aghori (Shivite), hateful, musal man (Muslim), savage iápání mál, cheap goods as from lapan

láhmrí thag, a rogue (like a

Note that in the Punjab, they say banar's than and mul'tank than. Also note pashto bol'na in Puniabi denoting 'nonsense talk'.

E. Terms belonging to the controversies of religion and politics suffer a like degeneration.

The word pakhanda has an interesting history. It was formerly used in quite a good sense. But now it has come to mean the very opposite. A sect of ascetics, who were non-Buddhists, were called pasandah (pasandah,) by the Emperor Asoka and were awarded royal gifts by him. Manu uses the word in the sense of non-Brahmanical. Later on, Vaisnavas began to apply the term to sects other than theirs. It came to acquire the general meaning of 'unbeliever', 'sinner', 'rogue'. árya samáji is now taken to mean a hypercritical fellow by antagonistic sects. Similarly penrantk has come to mean a superstitious or hyperritualistic fellow by the others. More examples are-

cárvák (eloquent), pagan, nimkar'sháhí, beaurocracy. samrájyavád (imperialism), despotism, corrupted administration, enslaving of other nations.

vedántí (well versed in the Vedánta philosophy), non-believer. Compare Fascism, Nazism, Bolschevism, Tory, Conservative, or Catholic in European languages, or note that the meaning of Hinds in Persian is thief, rascal.

Sometimes people who subscribe to these ideas in practice feel shy of the names which have suffered from pejoration. Real imperialists will never acknowledge their formal adherence to imperialism, but try to pass it off as democracy, nationalism, etc.

4. i(c). Figure of Speech.

The word takes its first step on the downward path when it is used in slight and jocose disparagement. Gradually it becomes a term of contempt or reprobation.

haz'rat (presence, lord), rogue. ray sahab (the title of Rai Sahib), sycophant,

bhaktaji (a devotee), trecherous, also used for a potter.

In the Punjab common people generally resent being called 'Rai Sahib'.

Also compare terms of flattery and politeness.

maháráj (emperor), Sir

shri (prosperity), any person, Mr.

shriman (the prosperous person), any man.

deviyo mr sajjano (goddesses and goodmen), ladies and men! sar'dar (chief), any Sikh (in Punjabi).

A. When words are used euphemistically, they become degenerated. When a word is degraded another takes its place and becomes degraded in turn.

shunc (cleanliness), tatti (shelter), jangal (forest), bahar (outside), jhara (sweeping, cf. purging), have been replacing one another, as English 'lavatory', 'closet', 'latrine', 'bathroom', etc.

Vide the section on Euphemism in the last chapter.

- Exaggeration clips the actual power of words, as in—
 virát sabhá (a universal assembly), a big meeting.
 pralay'kárí drshya (doom-making scene), dreadful scene.
 gazab kí bát (a tyrranous thing), a strange thing.
 kamál ho gayá (it is perfection!), well done.
- C. Words used in the superlative degree tend to lose their force and dignity.

shreetha (best), good; uttam (best), good, as in atyuttam, very good.

Compare also bahut acchá, very well, all right, simply meaning 'yea'.

D. Words possessed of a very strong meaning become less forcible in expression by being constantly used. Emotional words tend to deteriorate.

maháshay and bábú, titles of respect in Bengal and U. P. are disliked in the Punjab.

devi (goddess), a girl, a woman.

atishay, ativ, atimatra (extremely), alsokik (unearthly), adbhut (strange), mean simply 'very', or 'much'.

E Irony also results in the degradation of meaning.

sadá suhágam (never separate from a husband), prostitute váráág'sá (a nymph), prostitute bholá (innocent), stupid

elli.

sidhá (straight), fool.

4. i(d). Specialization.

Degeneration may also spring from specialization. Compare-

> sansarga (union), copulation sambhog (enjoyment), sexual of wife and husband eniovment rati (love), sexual enjoyment piná, to drink, to drink wine.

In Punjabi amal (from Arabic for 'action') means an act of intoxication

Sometimes a word shows deterioration in some of its uses, but maintains itself in others. Such words are still in the midway, i. e. they are used both in their ordinary and bad senses.

havá, air, evil effect piná, drink, drink wine used as an intoxicant

cak'la, region, brothel ácárya, teacher, undertaker chan'na, to be filtered, to be chak'na, to be satiated, to be intoxicated.

Punj. randi, a widow, a prostitute.

Some suffixes have a specialized sense of degradation, as inbátání, talkative dabbá, a subservient lang'rá, lame. For details see section 3, chapter II on "Evolution of Meaning".

4. ii. Amelioration.

Just as improvement in the physical, moral or social realm is more difficult than regression, so also is the case with words.

4. ii(a). Association.

Amelioration of meaning may be due to the association of a word with a high personality or a cultured object.

krena, kanha (dark), the dark-coloured Visnu.

chattar (umbrella), royal umbrella, an ornamental umbrella over an idol.

bhigma (terrible), a warrior, after Deva Vrata, the great hero.

In every province children are named after a big personality, although the name may originally have a bad meaning.

The stamp of religion ameliorates meaning as in-

jáp (< Skt. jalpa, to talk), prayers.

mandir (house), temple.

kalash (pitcher), a ceremonial pitcher.

mukti (release), salvation of the soul.

grantha (book), for the sikhs means their holy scriptures, and than, place, for the Jaikrishnis in the Punjab means 'a temple'.

4. ii(b). Figure of Speech.

The whimsicality of affection takes delight in transforming abusive words into caresses. buddhu and pagal, mad, have lost their abusive sense, especially when parents, elderly people or even friends use them. We have discussed the force of cacophemism in the last chapter.

4. ii(c). Ellipsis.

Ellipsis of the modifying adjective but retention of that modifying sense is responsible for the amelioration of a large number of words. Examples-

mahal (house), palace, i.e. roval house

shakun, a good omen muhurta (time), an

tymbár (orig. tithivár. a day), festival

gaddi (cushion), throne keshini, having long hair auspicious time kulin, of a good family.

nám (Punj. náh) good name, fame; Punj. sáh (breath, moment), auspicious day.

These may be compared with words in which modifying sense is omitted, as-

kap'rá (old cloth), cloth kathunti (a wooden vessel),

gilás (glassware,) a tumbler bhándá (carthenware,)

a tub

utensile.

It is interesting to note a few of the many instances of the divergence towards degradation, on the one hand, and to elevation on the other, among associated pairs and groups of words.

maganya, very few, but am'ginat, many.
mályahin, cheap, free, but am'mol, valuable.
mágar, clever, (from magar) but mág'ri, the cultivated script.
parlibhágá, definition, but parlibhágan, censure.

4. iii. Concretion.

The transformation of an abstract meaning to a concrete one is quite common in Hindi. An abstract word, instead of keeping its abstract sense, instead of remaining the exponent of an action, a quality, or a state, becomes the name of a material object. In general, concrete meanings are earlier than abstract ones. But, sometimes the abstract meaning comes first.

Examples—

mibandha (cf. composition), essay upanyás (statement), novel tanáv (stretch), a cord suhág (Skt. saubhágya), a marriage song sámagrí (collection), material parivár (covering), family

etc., etc.

The main categories of this kind of transference may now be considered.

4. iii(a). Personification.

Abstract things may be personified, as must, death, prem, love. Compare dharma in Skt. dharma ev hato hauti, righteousness killed may kill.

With this may be considered the metaphorical compounds viralágai, the fire of separation, vicár'dhárá, a current of ideas, vidyádham, the wealth of knowledge.

Also note the idioms, in which abstract terms have been associated with concrete actions. Avan baith gai, the voice is hourse, issue him gai, honour is lost, but urand, to start a rumour; etc.

Some abstract objects are represented in concrete form. Fame has white colour in Sanskrit literature, infamy is black, passion or

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anger is red, joy is white and so on. The Hindus, the Chinese and the Gypsies represent sorrow or mourning by white colour. Red is used for danger, green for 'all clear', white for peace, etc.

4. iii(b). Quality or State for Object.

One striking use of the abstract for the concrete is the application of the name of a quality to a person or thing, as in English "she is perfection". This is the reverse of personification.

Examples-

dev'tá (godhood), god birád'rí (brotherhood), brethren sabai (greenery), vegetable padya (recitation), poem shakti (power), spear. jan'tá, popularity, public safedi (whiteness), whitewashing, lime játi (birth), caste gadya (recitation), prose

4. iii(c). Quality or State for Place.

Sometimes, though rarely, we find a word denoting quality or state used for place, as in-

durgati (bad condition), hell tirtha (pilgrimage), a holy place vásá (residence), hotel jantar mantar (charms), observatory.

4. iii(d). Action for object.

The name of an action is sometimes transferred to its subject or to its object.

Compare-

katar'ni (cutting), scissors savári (riding), vehicle bheat (meeting), gift meutá (invitation), feast pahuáe (reaching), receipt savárí (riding), rider pújan (worshipping), offerings kháná (cating), food bhiktá (begging), begged food puraskár (placing in front), prise. The same may be used for the object which in any way is affected by the activity. More examples—

kalá (art), machine phat'kan (thrashing), husk.

Compare Punj. pájhan (wiping), a duster, Lahndi gaddan (sowing), manure, H., Punj. kat'ran (cutting), cut-pieces.

4. iii(e). Action for Wages.

Some words stand for action as well as wages.

cirál, sawing, wages for
sawing
silál, sewing, and charges
pisál, grinding, and charges
ban'vál, charges for making.

4. iii(f). Action for Place.

Some actions come to stand for places.

Examples-

jhar'ná (00ze), a spring nissáran (turning out), exit saágam (meeting), meeting place sthán (staying), place pál'ná (bringing up), cradle thárá (Pkt. thad, collecting), platform.

Compare H., Punj. balthak (sitting), sitting room.

4. iii(g). Ellipsis.

Concretion of meaning is very commonly the result of ellipsis, as in-

ceti, spring 'harvest'

sidhu (upright), honest man

kacci (uncooked), food

piy'ri (yellow), a yellow Dhoti kacci (uncooked), food cooked in water.

Skt. kaccara, dirty, > H. kac'rá, fragments. Ellipsis generally results in substantivization. More examples—

bure, bad 'persons' bare, big 'people'
Skt. guhya, to be covered, H. guh, excretion (== guhya

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padártha). Compare Punj. kálá, black 'snake', vaddá (big), an ancestor.

4. iii(h). Modifiers.

Sometimes, through modifiers which make general terms restricted, abstract terms become concrete.

Compare-

klesh, torture, it'ná klesh, so much torture, rám ká klesh, torture inflicted on Rama.

icchá, desire, merí icchá, my wish, merí ek icchá, one wish of mine.

4. iii(i). Grammatical Use.

Gender and number of abstract terms in Hindi suggests that such terms have been concreted, as—

Mas. árám, rest, prem, love, moh, illusion.

Fem. prárthaná, request, havá, air, pirá, pain.

pl. garmiyáń, summer days, áp'dáyeá, hardships.

4. iv. Abstraction.

Abstraction, it may be remarked, is a consequence of linguistic culture. Most of the backward peoples have not yet developed the sense of abstracting their concrete terms. In this connection, again, note may be made of the fact that our primitive terms are generally concrete. Gradation in abstraction, detailed below, may be appreciated.

4. iv(a). Symbolic Representation.

The phenomenon of symbolic representation of abstract terms is not very common in Hindi. A few examples are given below—hal, plough, representing husbandry.

danda, staff, representing justice.

safed bál, gray hair, representing old age.

vedi, altar, representing marriage or sermon.

kapál, lalát, forehead, representing luck.

cháti, kalejá, heart, representing courage.

4. iv(b). Action for Quality or State.

The use of a word of action for quality or state is another instance of abstraction.

Compare-

patam (falling down), decline
dán (giving), charity
vikram (stride, as in
trivikram) prowess
tamáshá (orig. Per. moving about), fun. etc.

eál (gait), policy
calam (movement), character
bhram (wandering), misapprehension
tamáshá (orig. Per. moving about), fun. etc.

4. iv(c). Object for Quality.

Sometimes, the name of a substance may come to mean a quality,

sál (thorn), pain
pakça (wing), side, fortnight
dil (heart), intention
See "Idioms" in a later chapter.

phal (fruit), result láthi (stick), support ág (fire), mischief.

4. iv(d). Object for Action.

A few words for persons or substances develop into action.

siráná, (from sirá, extremity), to pas. hathiyáná (from háth, hand), to cheat. ras'ná (from ras, juice), to drip. kuláás (Per, a yard), to jump.

The phenomenon is more common in English than in Hindi. Compare Macadamize, boycott, sandwiched, etc.

4. iv(e). Adjectivization.

Some nouns become adjectives without any change in their form. Compare—

pavitra (orig. mantra, rays of the sun, water, god), pure, from the idea of sanctity associated with those objects. Skt. kańkála (skeleton) = H. kańgál, poor, indigent. silipat (< Skt. shilápatta, slab), even, square. Also note the adjectivization of nouns in compounds. go lok (here go = celestial), the heavens. din'caryá (here din = daily), day's programme. dharma jivan, (dharma = religious), religious life. mar'medh (nar = human) human sacrifice. janmadin (janma = celebrating birth), birthday.

4. iv(f). Differentiation.

At times, abstraction and differentiation proceed simultaneously, as in-

pání, water, áb (Per. water), splendour lahar, wave, mænj (Per. wave), emotion ádhá, half, ním (Per. half), light.

4. iv(g). Metaphor.

Metaphorical use of a large number of concrete terms makes them abstract in meaning.

mimagna (drowned), busy para (mercury), passion gadha (ass), stupid fellow. bhár (load), responsibility dáh (burning), jealousy

Also note the phrases—kán dhar'ná, to listen, dil dená, to love.

Compare Punj. bááh pápá (lit. to put arm), to dare.

Verbs may also be transferred from physical to mental application.

chán'ná (to sieve), to search

mar'ná (to kill), to embezzle

pls'ná (to be ground), to suffer

ujág'ná (to uproot), to ruin.

Compare Punj. vát'pá (to pour), to be enamoured.

4. v. Synecdoche

Synecdoche is a Greek term meaning 'inclusion'. It is taken to mean the process by which two terms of unequal extent, i.e. terms one of which can be included in the other—are interchanged. The following classes may be noted here—

4. v(a). Part-whole.

The whole may signify a part, as mujhe darda hal, may mean 'I have pain in my stomach, head, leg or any other part of the body'. or makán khulá hal for 'the door of the house is open', or bájár mandá hal for 'wheat or gold or any other single article is now selling cheap.'

A part may designate the whole, as jal'pán drinking of water, which includes also vegetables, fruits, sweets, salts, tea, etc.; rotákháná, to eat bread, which also includes meat, fish, vegetables, pickles, and also drinking of water; nahá dho kar, having bathed and washed, including application of oil, powder, cream, and combing of hair. Similarly, vang, the name of a small tribe, is now applied to all the people belonging to Bengal. hládá, designating the inhabitants of the Indus Valley, now applies to the people of the whole country. More examples are—

H. náhar, tiger, < Skt. nakhara, claw, battí (wick), lamp, hath'karí (hand-ring), the whole chain including hand-cuffs; phátak (gate), kine-house.

4. v(b). Singular-Plural.

Plural may signify singular, as in **áp'ke darshan**, your sight, mare prán, my life, tere bhágya, your fortune.

pitá ji áye, father has come, ghar ke log, wife.

All these terms are plural in form but singular in meaning.

maváb is plural from Ar. 'náib', a deputy, but it is used in singular.

Hindi has the peculiarity of using honorific forms—nouns, pronouns, adjectives and verbs—for singular signification, VI

Sometimes singular may be used for plural as in am mah'ae hal, us'ke pas bahut rupaya hal, mele men bahut ad'mi the kap'ra sasta bik raha hal, where the words in roman type hat been employed in singular to mean 'mangoes', 'rupees', 'persona and 'cloths.'

4. vi. Metonymy.

Metonymy, in Greek, means 'change of name', a vague and ur meaning term. But technically speaking, it is a process of semanti transference which consists in substituting the cause for the effect the effect for the cause, the receptacle for the contents, the content for the receptacle, the place for the product, the product for the place, the writer for his writings, the writings for their author, the sign for the thing signified and the thing signified for the sign.

Examples—

4. vi(a). Cause-Effect.

The cause may stand for the effect, as in—
bhrúbhaúg (twisting of eyebrows), exasperation.
gáúth kat'ná (cutting of the purse), to be cheated.
khák dál'ná (to put dust over), to bury, to conceal.
koh'ní már'ná (to elbow), to push.

etc.

So also, the effect may signify the cause—
gái picak'ná, to be weak (lit. to have thinned cheeks).
gar'dan hiláná (to move the neck), to refuse.
khán sákh'ná (drying up of blood), to be frightened.
khará rah'ná (to keep standing), to wait.
See Idioms in a later chapter.

4. vi(b). Receptacle-Contents.

The receptacle may denote the contents, as that parese, means 'serve food in a plate', cará shahar kah'ta had, means 'the

people in the city say so', main gay duh'ta han, I draw milk from the cow, ghar sanbhaliye, take care of the property in the house, kacah'ri ki ajaya hal, the officer in the court has ordered, kuan sakh gaya, means 'water in the well has dried up', dali (basket), means gifts.

The contents may be used for the receptacle, as goods (< Skt. govrada, herd of cattle), cowpen, pasture. sabhá ko já rahá háá, here sabhá is used for the building where the Sabha is held. iaháj (orig. merchandise), is ship.

4. vi(c). Place-Product.

The place may come to signify the product for which that place is known as sirohi, a sword originally manufactured at Sirohi in Rajputana, kashmira, a woollen cloth first designed in Kashmir, bidar, a kind of metal-work first known in Bidar, saaci, a kind of betel, kali, or kalin (a place in Armenia), rug, salem'pur, palam'pur, a kind of chintz bed-cover, kokh, (womb, lap), off-spring, etc.

The product signifies the place in panc'vati (a collection of five

banyan trees), a place near Násik.

4. vi(d). Author-Writings.

The name of writer is used for his writings, as áp'ne kálídás parhá hal, have you read Kalidas? tul'si war súr meá dekho, see in Tuki and Surdas.

The writings, similarly, denote their author, as rámáyan kah'tí
hal, Ramayana says, vedoá kí ájáyá hal, it is the command of the
Vedas.

4. vi(e). The sign and the signified.

The sign stands for the thing signified, as in coti mar dayhi ha mel ma hoga, coti stands for ladies and dayhi for gents. halfpag'ri means a policeman, and bare pet vale means capitalists.

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Persons and animals are often nicknamed after characterist parts of their body or mind, as —

sarpa (that creeps), serpent lambakarna, (long-eared),

rpent pakes, the winged being, bird hathi, the animal with a donkey hand, elephant

Note how the following proper names have been formed sugriv (one with a beautiful neck);

hanumán (one with a prominent chin); maháshay (one having high aspirations).

Objects are often named in the like manner, as-

páni, water (it is drunk)
kot, fort (it gives shelter)
gangá, river, the Ganges,
(it goes)

prthvi, earth (it is flat)
grantha, book (it is bound)
goli, a pill (it is round)
etc., etc.

Nicknames may be derived from some favourite words of the speakers, as moshin, a Bengali, ik're tik're, Marathas, bhayye (bhayyi log in Bombay), U. P. men, alli galli, Biharis, khanki. Garhwalis, han hazur, a flatterer, danci bahn, a new comer winter sojourner from Bengal in Bihar and Eastern U. P. who fin everything "damned cheap".

In the Punjab ráshá (Pashto 'come on') refers to a Pathan ar háto (hallo) to a Kashmiri.

Names are also given to living and non-living objects from the characteristic sounds.

Compare-

hud'hud, woodpecker koko, crow (Punj. káń) gur'guri, a huqqa jhun'jhuni, a child's rattle ghungh'ru, bells. khakhár, spittle chachúádar, musk-rat phar'phará, in Calcutta phe phatiyá, motor c;

For details see the section on "Onomatopoeias" in chapter II.

Sometimes the thing signified may denote the sign, as—

áákh már'ná, to signal, yah hiran hal, it is the picture of deer.

4. vii. Analogical Transference.

We have already seen in the last chapter how names of plan;

animals, diseases, persons, implements, articles and parts of the body are transferred to similar objects. This kind of transference is quite common in Hindi.

Aristotle gives another explanation of transference of meaning by analogy. When A is to B, as C is to D, the name of A can be used to indicate D. Thus, the leader is to nation, as is the pillar to a building, so that we can say vah ap'mi jati ka stambha hal. This is real metaphor.

More Examples-

pååch (tail), title ghot'nå (grind), repeat lesson påtra (pot), deserving person shaguphå (bud), a bhabhát (wealth), ashes chánh (shade), shelter dvárá (door), means ánkh (eye), judgment, know-

sensational event ledge, sense.

Words used to denote sexual and corporal experience may thus be transferred to the spiritual or intellectual field.

Examples...

lambi rát, long night hará (green, fresh), happy ishvar (lord), God jagah (place), rank, service carvan (chewing), repeating pakáná (to cook), to prepare vyathá, (shivering), pain, suffering.

Also see sub-section 4. iv. on Abstractions.

Words denoting one sensation may be transferred to another. Examples—

ac'aá, to rinse mouth with water, < Skt. ácamati, sips water from the hand, dimág nahíá cal'tá, the brain does not move (work).

In malá ne yah bhásan is dreti se nahín suna, the act of hearing has been applied to eyes or sight.

sun'ai, to listen, also means 'to understand'.

Compare also (pp. 36-38) onomatopoeias employed to make audible, so to say, sensations of feeling, seeing, etc.

Compare Beng. dáát kan'kan kará, to feel tooth-ache, máthá tan'tan kará for head-ache, tak'takiyá lál, bright red; etc.

4. viii. Allied Transference.

The meaning of a word may be transferred to any related ideas

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or objects, as-

urdu, orig. 'camp', means 'language of the camp'.

sir, orig. 'plough', means 'the act of ploughing' and even 'the field ploughed'.

Compare Punj. khúh (< Skt. kúpa, well), well, the land irrigated by the well. More examples from Hindi-

akhara, (orig. aksavatakah, 'pole fence') means 'place for wrestling'.

dánr, orig. 'punishment', means 'a stick'.

solá, orig. sholá, spongewood, its pithlike stems, means 'pith'. and also 'hat' made of that pith.

sar'kar, orig. 'officer', means 'ruler', 'master', 'government', 'state'.

The name of one object, animal or part of the body may be transferred to an allied object, animal or part of the body, Compare-

Skt. kásthá, a measure of time, > H. katthá, a measure of land, a corn measure of 10 lbs.

Skt. lex. khatakkiká, side-door, > H. khir'ki, window.

Skt. parashu, axe, > par'siyá, sickle.

Skt. gharghari, girdle of small bells worn by women, > H. ghágh'rí, Punj. ghagh'rá, woman's skirt.

Skt. karcura, turmeric, > H. kacur, curcuma zerumbet.

Skt. markata, monkey, > H. mak'rá, spider, mak'rí, locust.

Skt. cillatah, a sort of creeping animal, > H. cillar, louse.

Skt. paşthavah, four year old bull, H. patha, Punj. pattha, young full-grown animal (esp. goat, deer, or elephant).

Skt. ghuştah, ghutah, ankle, > H. ghut'ná, knec.

Skt. ganda, cheek, goitre, > H. gan, anus.

Pkt. pora, joint, > H. por, space between two joints.

Skt. jangha, leg from knee to ankle, > H. jangh, thigh. etc., etc.

4. iz. Evolutionary Transference.

The name of an object may sometimes be equally applicable to its evolved form.

shark orig, 'a little water jar', then, 'water-clock', now a watch,

a clock.

vanishi, a bamboo stick, now means a flute', which may be made of any wood or stuff.

shisha, glass, also means a looking glass.

gilás, glass, now means 'a tumbler', which may be made even of some metal.

tin, tin, means also 'a canister' and we even say lohe ká tin, iron tin or can.

tar, wire, telegraph wire, a telegram, and we do say tar faram, a telegram form.

dupatta, formerly of two widths, now it is all woven in one.

4. z. Grammatical Transference.

The use of a word as a different part of speech gives it a different meaning. The subject will be discussed at length in a later chapter. A few examples may be given here.

sacce sadá gháte meá rah'te haiá; burá vah jo buroá se vair kare. Here the words 'sacce', true, 'bure' bad, have been used as nouns, meaning 'truthful persons' and 'bad persons'.

sote men bol'tá rah'ta hal; cal'tí ká nám gári hal. The verbs in roman types have been used here as nouns meaning 'sleep' and 'motion'.

vah ap'ná sir parhegá, yah kám jáne se pah'le kar'ná hogá. Here the noun sir, means 'not', an adverb. The adjective pah'le, first, here is a postposition and means 'before'. háy háy mací hal, váh váh hal, interjections have been

used as nouns.

Compare also hán yah thik hal and un'ke hán já kar púcho. hán = yes, and hán = yahán, here, house.

The word age in the following sentences has different meanings age cale, ahead, makan ke age, in front, age bhí ap ko kahá thá, sometime back.

kit'má = how much, in kit'má dúdh cáhiye and kit'má = how, in kit'má acchá hal.

Compare the in the life (bring more), turn the main (you and I) and hed the hogh (it must be someone else).

5. PLURALITY OF CHANGES.

- (i) RADIATION.
- (ii) Concatenation.
- (iii) COMPLEXITY OF CHANGES.

5. i. Radiation.

There are a few words that undergo a single transference of meaning. A large number of words, we have already noted (Chap. III), are polynymous. A word may be restricted in one sense, generalized in another and deteriorated in the third. It may undergo any varieties of change at different times. This process is called "Radiation." Radiation takes place when different secondary meanings develop directly and immediately from the central meaning. The meanings radiate from the primitive meaning like rays of the sun.

Suppose N, in the following diagram, to be the name of an object (padartha) P, and suppose a is the artha or some quality or other which is noticeable in P. The name N, which is given to P, will be transferred to other objects, A, B, C, D, E, F, etc., thanks to the same quality, which among others, each of these objects possesses.

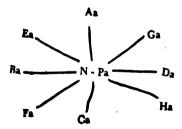
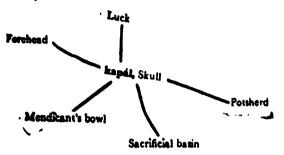


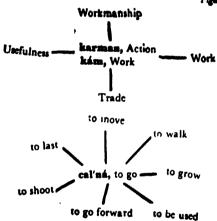
Figure 5.

The name pakva, ripe, passes to pakká, strong, cooked, gray (hair), because in each the quality is considered to be the same. chat'ri, umbrella, gives its name, in consequence of a likeness of form, to a comb, pigeons' perch, a fungus, etc. The word mishán, a mark, comes to mean 'an address', 'a musical band', 'banner' by the same process of Radiation.

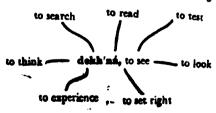
More examples-



Figures 6 and 7.



Figures 8 and 9.



Sometimes we imagine in an object P two, three or more qualities a, b, c, and thus the name N is transferred to several series of objects, one series having, in common with P, one quality a, the second series having another quality b, the third another quality c, and so on, as in the following diagram.

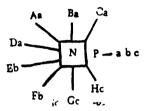


Figure 10.

For example, ánkh, eye, in its physical form will be employed as náriyal ki ánkh, suí ki ánkh. Considered as an organ of vision it will be used in ánkh rakh'ná, to watch, ánkh danráná, to search, ánkh lag'ná, to sleep. As the passage of love and shame, it will give rise to such expressions as ánkh bacáná, to be ashamed, ánkh lag'ná, to fall in love, etc.

puách, a tail, means 'a follower', 'an end', 'a title', in allusion to different aspects of the 'tail'.

5. ii. Concatenation.

Quite different is the next process that we have to study, in which a word moves gradually away from its first meaning by successive steps of alternate specialization and generalization and transference until, in many cases, there is not a shadow of connection between the sense that is finally developed and that which the term bore at the outset. In concatenation the primary meaning is forgotten in the second object. Then the name passes from the second object to the third by the aid of a new quality, which in its turn is forgotten, and so on. In the following diagram, the name N of the object P passes on to A by the aid of the quality s which is considered to be common between P and A. On account of its new quality s it passes on to the object B which also has s quality.

Consider the following scheme-



Figure 11.

Examples-

rámál, a handkerchief. The first meaning is the object with which a man wipes his face (from Per. rá, face). Our modern customs have accidentally decided that the object should be a square piece of stuff, silk, cotton, cambric, etc. Hence through forgetfulness of the original idea, the word rámál is applied to pieces of stuff of the same kind, although it may be used for any purposes, as in the phrase sir par rámál báádho, tie a handkerchief on your head. Even the quality or shape of the object is later forgotten and we employ the term rámálí to a loin-cloth which is triangular.

The word devar has passed through a series of similar forgettings and changes. It originally meant 'second husband', then restricted to 'the dead husband's brother who became second husband', it is then generalized to mean 'husband's brother', and again restricted to 'husband's younger brother'.

raj'pd: meant 'king's son', then by generalization 'a member of the royal family', and then restricted to 'a member of a particular tribe' with the result that today every Rajput is not a king's son and, at the same time, the son of every Raja or king is not a Rajput.

mahábhárat does not mean 'Great India', but 'The Great War of Kurukshetra' (historical restriction), then it is generalized to mean any big fight, riot, or quarrel.

kuńwara (< kumarakah, a little boy), a bachelor, is the result of generalization. restriction and again generalization.

Some words undergo various kinds of successive changes. The meaning of ram kahani, the Ramayana, was first generalized to mean 'a romance' and then degraded to 'a useless long talk'. shakun, meaning first a bird, then a bird of omen, then an omen itself, and lastly a good omen, has passed through restriction, abstraction and amelioration. angething, < Skt. angusthya.

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concerning the thumb, is the result of concretion, restriction and then generalization.

5. iii. Complexity of changes.

It sometimes happens that radiation and concatenation are combined in the series of changes. A scheme such as the following may be given, which, after the foregoing explanations, will be found perfectly clear inspite of its apparent complexity.

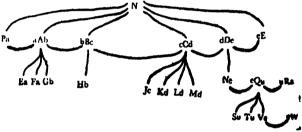


Figure 12.

The name N will thus pass, by successive branching in different directions, from the object P to all the objects A, B, C, D, E,.......
T....V, W, etc. In this way we may come to a stage where the transferred meaning has lost all connection with the original signification.

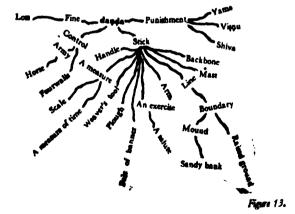
Take, for example, daid. If we refer to the Hindi Shabda Sagara, we find the following meanings of the word—

- (a) A stick, staff, or pole.
- (b) Anything like a stick, as wooden sword.
- (c) An exercise of a particular type.
- (d) Salutation.
- (c) Finc.
- (f) Punishment of any kind.
- (f2.) loss.
- (g) A kind of array.
- (h) Control.
- (i) Pole of a banner.
- (j) Scale.
- (k) Handle.

- (1) Mast of a ship.
- (m) Plough.
- (n) A measure of two yards.
- (o) Yama, who gives punishment.
- (p) Visnu, Shiva.
- (q) Army. (q2.) horse.
- (r) A duration of 24 minutes.
- (s) A courtyard with rooms to the east and north.
- (t) The same word in thh. form 'danda', four walls.
- (u) The tbh. 'dang', a weavers' instrument.
- (v) Line.
- (w) Backbone
- (x) Boundary.
- (y) Mound.
- (z) Sandy bank of a river.

The tbh. 'diárá', dand' and 'diár' have more meanings to add.

We will now class these meanings in the order of their semantic development, and see how by various complex processes the word has come to mean so many different objects. The polysemantic nature of a large number of words can be similarly explained. It would be a service, indeed, if any lexicographer could arrange the words in our Hindi dictionary in the order of their semantic development on the following lines.







1. GROWTH AND IMPORTANCE.

- (i) GROWTH OF IDIOTISM.
- (ii) Definition of an Idiom.
- (iii) IDIOMS IN SANSKRIT.
- (iv) NIA IDIOMS.
- (v) INFLUENCES A CASE FOR PERSIAN.
- (vi) Incidence of Idioms in Hindi.

1. i. Growth of Idiotism.

At its early stage, a language is made up of words with simple and concrete meanings. It has been noted that whenever a word is taken in a particular language it has but one meaning, concrete and fixed. The words first have expressive power (Abhidhá Shakti). They attain suggestive or implied power as their usage develops. An idiom of a language is the result of this implied power (Vyańjaná Shakti) of words and consequent maturity of language which it achieves through economy, clearness and force.

The growth of idioms also depends on the culture of a people. Words acquire suggestive power and extension of meanings with the extension of the activities, experiences, associations and feelings of that people.

1. ii. Definition of an Idiom.

The Hindi word muháv'rá, for idiom, means in Arabic a 'dialogue' or 'conversation', which is not quite significant. Nor is the Skt. vágdhárá. The word 'idiom' is technically appropriate. 'Idioma', in Greek, means 'peculiar phraseology', from 'idios' (peculiar to one's self). It denotes expressions that are characteristic of a particular language whereby it is distinguished from another language or family of languages.

1. iii. Idioms in Sanskrit.

Idioms in every country are national. It is wrong to suppose, as does Pt. Gaya Prasad Shukla, M.A. in his foreword to Pt. Dinkar Sharma's Hindi Dictionary of Idioms, that Greek, Latin and Sanskrit have been too literary, too grammatical, too artificial and too remote from the common people to contain idiomatic expressions. There is no doubt that popular literature, including fiction and drama, contains more idioms than learned literature. But idioms, in the purely literary writings, are not wanting. We are generally unable to recognise them, because their structure is quite different from that of the Hindi idioms. Sanskrit idiom is mainly prepositional. By prefixing various prepositions to roots, Sanskrit managed to form a large number of words with peculiar meanings.

anukaraņa, imitation, pratikāra, remedy, saāskāra, refinement, vikāra, change, adhikāra, right, up'kāra, good, ap'kāra, evil, prakāra, method, ākāra, shape, from V kr, to do.

or, anuyoga, inquiry, abhiyoga, accusation, up'yoga, use, service, niyoga, command, viyoga, separation, udyoga, effort, prayoga, employment, pratiyoga, opposition, saayoga, union, chance, etc. from \(\sqrt{yu} \), to unite.

Also see section 2 on prefixes in Chapter II.

The reason that has led several critics to remark that Sanskrit lacks idiom* lies in the synthetic structure of classical Sanskrit, in

^{*}Dinker: Introduction to Hindi Muhav'ra Kosh.

which analytical phrases are used very sparingly. Many an idiom lies embedded in the lengthy compounds of Sanskrit.

Compare-

devánám príyah (dear to the gods), a fool, dhrtavastrah, one who is wearing (lit. holding), clothes, paácagah (five...cows), something bought for five cows, dhányártha (grain-wealth), wealth obtained by means of grain, kápamandáks (lit. a well-dwelling frog), one who knows nothing of the world outside the limits of his own village, katáksa (lit. a little glance), a sidelong look or a frown of displeasure, dírghasátrí (lit. one with a long rope), a dilatory person, nírmama (lit. without mine), one without love of worldly gains, pratikashah (for the whip), a disobedient servant.

Phrasal idioms are rarely available in Sanskrit. The following phrases have become idiomatic by the extension of the meaning of verbs. keetram karoti (ploughs), padam karoti (commands respect), shabdam karoti (sounds), udakam karoti pitrbhysh (gives offerings), pitá náma karoti (names), bhasma karoti (reduces to ashes), mútra purisam karoti (cases), dárám karoti (marries), samayá karoti (passes time), nakhán karoti (clips nails).

Also note the idiomatic use of $\sqrt{\text{varşa}}$, $\sqrt{\text{pal}}$, $\sqrt{\text{dhr}}$, and $\sqrt{\text{avalamba}}$ in sharán varşati, showers arrows, ájáyám pálayati, obeys the order, vastram dháryati, wears clothes, dhairyamavalambate, takes courage, etc.

In Vedic Sanskrit the number of idiomatic phrases is quite large.

1. iv. NIA Idioms.

NIA idiom, on the other hand, is exclusively and profusely phrasal. We have noted in a previous chapter how grammatical forms of Sanskrit have become handy instruments by specialization, achieved through the analytical nature of NIA languages. The same analytical specialization is responsible for the rise and growth of phrasal idioms in modern Indo-Aryan languages.

Compare-

H. kmrf ke tang homa (lit. to be narrow for a shell), to be steeped in poverty.

kunvá upání (lit. crow-flier), a woman set to menial service.
thikáne lagáná (lit. to settle at the proper place), to establish,

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to end well, to kill.

pat khol'ná (lit. to open the door), to take off a covering or veil.

cakkar kháná (to eat a circuit), to make a round.

dimág khálí kar'ná (to empty the brain), to tax one's brain, dabe pánv (with presed feet), gently.

Punj. ihag sut'ná (to give out foam), to be enraged.

thángá már'ná (to strike the thumb as in weighing), to weigh

dake dole kháná (to cat jerks and staggerings), to go astray. tráh kadh dená (to turn out fear), to frighten.

vadh ke pair már'ne (to strike steps increasingly), to show off.
Guj. ghauń bhar'vá javuá (lit. to go to bring wheat from a distance), to die.

gol cakkar levuá (lit. to take a circle), to sing and dance, to revolve.

gothuń khávuń (lit. to eat a trick), to make a mistake.

1. v. Influences-a Case for Persian.

There is, of course, no lack of idioms in Sanskrit. But we are generally unable to recognize them because their nature is different from that of the Hindi idioms. The idioms of classical Sanskrit are of such a peculiar nature that they do not arrest the modern readers' attention, accustomed as they are to phrasal analytical idioms. Sanskrit is certainly rich in turns of expression peculiar in use and meaning to itself. It is difficult, in the absence of collections of phrasal idioms from Sanskrit, to say what various tendencies have been inherited by the modern Indian languages. So far as historical data permit us to believe, Hindi parallels from Sanskrit are not many. Compared with Hindi idioms, Sanskrit expressions seem to be direct, plain and unequivocal. On the other hand, there is strange agreement between the Hindi and the Persian idioms.

Per. ru'e didan, mush tak'na, to expect favour.

Per. cashma-i-xin álud, áákhoámeá lahá utar'aá, to be angry. Per. cashma ba-ráh dáshtan, áákhoá ráh par lagáná, to expect, to wait. Per. cashma poshi namudan, aakh curana, to wink at, to avoid.

Per. do cashma cár shudan, áákheá (do) cár honá, to mect.

Per. cashma zadan, ankh mar'na, to blush, to sign.

Per. cashma namudan, ankh dikhana, to rebuke.

Per. bar sar-o-cashma, sir ánkhoá par, respectfully.

Per. cashma dáshtan, ankh rakh'na, to watch.

Per. ráh giristan, rástá pakar'ná, ráh lená, to proceed.

Per. ráh qata' kardan, ráh kát'ná, to travel.

Per. fareb xwurdan, dhokhá kháná, to be deceived.

Per. dáman dar rextan, pag'ri uchál'ná, to disgrace.

The number of such idioms is very large. The similarity in the phraseology, literal signification and metaphorical sense of Persian and Hindi idioms is strikingly remarkable.

Idiomatic usage is one of the elements which have made Persian such a sweet and flowery language. This usage was naturally adopted by the cultured and educated classes who wanted to say things beautifully, pithily and pointedly. Once the practice of expressing ideas in idioms had started it was easily extended. Persian was the language of the court, of the state and the society for a number of centuries. The influence of Persian on Hindi idioms cannot be denied. The nature of idioms in both these languages is exclusively phrasal. Quite a good number of Hindi idioms contain Persian words, which, it is now difficult, to replace.

The following thirty words, for example, occur in about 200 idioms in Hindi-

magaz, brain dimág, bram panja, paw dil, heart ián, life rag, vein pah'ld, side bagal, armpit zabán, tongue dam, life, breath gardan, neck AVAL, voice palak, cyclash zakham, wound khán, blood kamar, waist akla, brains mmj, wave, joy mishán, mark gul, flower khayál, idea imat, honour kissá, story hal, condition tang, narrow tájá, fresh mál, property ad'mi, man garam, hot kalam, pen, etc.

It is a remarkable fact that tatsama, scholarly and dialectical I.-A. words seldom occur in Hindi idioms.

Then, many Hindi idioms, it may be noted, are nothing but

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translations from Persian. For example, take idioms containing the word hath. Per. dasta, hand.

dasta az ján shustan, ján se háth dhoná, to despair.

dasta-o-pa zadan, hath pany mar'na, to strive.

ba-dasta awurdan, hath ana, to procure.

dasta uftådan, håth lag'nå, to find out.

dasta afshándan, háth jhár ná, to abandon.

dasta bar dasta nishastan, háth par háth rakh kar baith'ná, to sit idle.

dasta bar dil nihadan, dil par hath rakh'na, to have courage.

dasta pesh dáshtan, háth pasár'ná, to beg.

dasta dádan, **háth dená,** to assist.

dasta dáshtan, háth rakh'ná, to encourage.

dasta kashidan, háth khiác'ná, to withdraw oneself.

dasta gazidan, háth mal'ná, to regret.

dast yaftan, hath lag'na, to possess.

Translated adaptation of idioms from a cultivated language is very natural, too. The following translations and adaptations from English in modern times may be noted.

ahat garva, wounded vanity.

prethabhúmi, background.

palroń tale ghás na ug'ne dená, not to let grass grow under the feet.

nayá parat badal'ná, to turn over a new leaf.

ap'ná dhoi bajáná, to blow one's own trumpet.

cal'te ghore ko ár már'ná, to spur a willing horse.

It would be an interesting hobby to note such idioms in modern journals.

It may, however, be noted that whereas Persian idioms adopted in Hindi have been naturalized and assimilated, translations from English are still foreign, clumsy and out of place. It appears that idioms of phrasal type were already common in Hindi, and a few additions of agreeable nature from Persian were most welcome. Persian and Sanskrit are allied languages. Both are eastern Aryan languages and represent almost similar ideas, emotions and cultures. Persian thought found easy and congenial acceptation in India. Moreover, Urdu has always drawn upon Persian resources never feeling that they were foreign. There is no doubt that hundreds of our Hindisidioms go back to Persian.

1. vi. Incidence of Idioms in Hindi.

The number of idioms in Hindi is very large. Their natures. origins and types are varied. Their use has increased since the rise of prose literature which is written in popular language and for the general people. In poetry they are less used on account of its too much artificiality and profoundness. Similarly, scientific, technical, classical, philosophic and scholarly language is devoid of idioms for the same reasons. Babu Shyamsundar Das, or poet Pant. for example, needed no idioms. Idioms are the life and spirit of popular literature as produced by Prem Chand, Hariaudh, Guleri or Kaushik. It has, however, to be noted, though with regret, that the use of idioms in literary and urban language is fast declining. Hindi has started on its way to becoming a classical language. It is losing its contact with dialects and relying too much on Sanskrit which has given it depth, richness and clasticity. It has lent Hindi a variety of style, but has, certainly, deprived it of its unsophisticated simplicity, vividness, vigour and catholic appeal. Literary Hindi, like Sanskrit, is becoming a 'devabhasa' and gradually losing its character as a 'ianabhása'. The case of English may be compared. Idiomatic expressions abound in the daily speech of the English people as well as in the elaborate, serious and polished compositions of English writers. English has found for itself a better way of compromise between colloquialism and classicism. After all, idioms have a charm of their own. They are the vitamins-little sparks of life and energy-in our speech. They are popular ... and national, and made of durable and home-spun A Nation's history and character are undoubtedly material. mirrored in its idioms and proverbs, and it can be said with certainty, of some typical idioms, that they could only be the expression of thought or feeling of one particular nation. Some idioms may be translations or adaptations but all of them come from the people and are accepted by them. Semantically, they are extremely important. They have a vivid, picturesque and effective meaning. They prefer images to abstractions, terseness to grammar and energy to logic. They make a direct appeal to the sense, and they exhort. They are a sign of the youthful vigour and versatility of a language. It is the idiomatic part of Hindi which, of course, is semantically most amusing and enlightening.

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2. THE NATURE OF HINDI IDIOMS

(i) USAGES.

The nature of Usages — Uses of Collocations — Usage in Comparisons — Compound Verbs — Usage in Verbs.

(ii) IDIOMS.

Translatability — Elliptical Formations — Verbal Idioms — Substantival Idioms — More than Halfidioms — Full Idioms.

The term 'idiom' is used in two senses. First, it denotes the general structure of a language vis-a-vis its grammar and syntax, whereby it is distinguished from another language or family of languages and which give it a special character of its own.

Compare, for example—

H. alsá ján par'tá hal, but Eng. 'It appears'.

H. mujhe málúm hai, to me it is known, but Eng. 'I know'.

H. stri-purus, woman and man, but Eng., 'man and wife'.

H. uth baltha, lit. stood sat, but Eng. 'got up'.

or H. mujhe jáná hal, but Punj. malá ne jáná hal, and Eng.
'I have to go'.

H. meri pustakeń, but Punj. meriyáń pustakáń, my books.

H. vah nahín átá, but Beng. o ábe na.

Secondly, the 'idiom' denotes those combinations of words or phrases which have a metaphorical, marginal or suggestive rather than literal or prosaic meaning. They do have some connection with their original literal sense, but they are now understood, mainly in their secondary meaning.

Example-

gali kamana means 'to clean latrines', but the words gali, street, and kamana, to earn, have their literal significance, too, as the latrines are generally found in streets and cleaning is the work (livelihood) of a scavenger. Moreover, cleaning of streets and latrines is done by the same persons. gale baadh'na, to thrust, does not imply that something is literally tied to the neck of a person.

It is important to note the difference between these two significations of 'idiom'. In one case, there is peculiarity of structure

and use, the meaning being understood practically literally, though it may sometimes be untranslatable into a foreign language. We propose to designate such expressions as 'usages' (H. roj marrá). In the other case, there is peculiarity of use as well as meaning. We shall restrict the term 'idiom' (H. muháv'rá) to this class of phrases. Unfortunately, the terms 'usage' and 'idiom' are generally confused; as, for instance, Webster, the famous lexicographer, defines idiom as "an expression sanctioned by usage, having a sense peculiar to itself and not agreeing with the logical sense of its structural form", and usage as the "customary employment of a word or phrase in a particular sense."

Usage and idiom, as defined by us, are distinctive terms.

2. i. Usages.

THE NATURE OF USAGES. The word usage relates to the customary employment of a word or phrase as established by master speakers and writers and as recognized by the nation.* We shall discuss at length the grammatical and syntactical usage in Hindi in the last two chapters. But it is not essential that a usage must conform to the principles of grammar and logic. Usages are, sometimes, arbitrary and it is impossible to give any law regarding their construction and order. No reason can be given why we say rat ko (at night) but din men (in the day), khoj kháj (search, etc.) but mej vej (table, etc.) or Punj. páni páni (water, etc.); bis tis (between 20 and 30) but sen pacas (between fifty and hundred), as pás (all about) and all gall (way, street, etc.), but not pás ás and gall all; dhan-dmlat, (wealth and prosperity) but not dmlat-dhan, and kap'gá-lattá (clothes, etc.) but not lattá-kap'gá.

It may be said that in a majority of phrases, the most important or obtrusive element demands the first position, as in svarga-marak (heaven and hell), roti-pani (bread and water) and khan-pan eating and drinking), bhai-bahan (brother and sister).

Or, that what precedes in the natural order of things comes first, as in jivan-maran (life and death), abal-vrddha (old and young,.
Or, that the ear prefers that the longer word should be put last,

^{*}See Sri Remchandra Verma's Acchi Hindi, Benares.

as in dhan-dmlat, wealth, pán-tamákhá, betel and tobacco, or mel-miláp, sociability, etc.

Or, that there is a system in echo-words, etc., etc.

But the number of irregularities is quite sufficient to show that usage is arbitrary. It is a remarkable fact that the order is reversed in utter disregard of these rules of grammar and logic.

Compare with the above, jal'váyu, climate, dál-bhát, pulse and rice, mar'ná-már'ná, dying and killing, bhúkhá-pyásá, hungry and thirsty, etc.

Then there are phrases which must be used as compounds, and phrases which cannot form compounds.

Compare-

kal'muáhá, black face, ominous person, diyásaláí, matches, kám'cor, shirker, muáh'phat, outspoken, man'máná, selfwilled.

but rel kí pat'rí, rail road, latthe ká thán, a piece of long cloth, rát ká kháná, evening meal, etc.

Compare Punj. sir'saryá, a drudge, but akhoá anhá, blind by eyes.

The peculiar expressions telling time are interesting.

rat ke das baje (lit. ten strokes of night), 10 p.m.

das baj'kar das minaţ (lit. ten minutes after striking ten), 10:10.

penn bajá hal (lit. it is three-quarter of a stroke), quarter to one.

sarhe tin baje halá (lit. it is three and a half), half past three. Their literal translation into any language would be absurd.

USES OF COLLOCATIONS. The semantic effects of certain phrasal collocations may be studied in the next chapters. Emphasis on totality or st cstra may be expressed sometimes by duplex phrases as man's dham, name, address, man'pit, beating, etc.; sometimes by repetitions as dhapadhap, plentifully, block his, through and through; sometimes by alliteration as in blap bhap, crowd, etc. as'pas, all about; sometimes by assonance or rhyme as in rest vest, bread, etc., mithal sithal, sweets, etc.; sometimes by the contact of two alternatives as sukh-dukh, joy and sorrow, etc., svarga-marak, heaven and hell; sometimes by synonymous words as seva-sushrips, service,

etc., hám káj, work, etc.; and sometimes by the collocation of related words as dál-roti, bread, etc., rupayá paisá, rupec, pice, etc.

USAGE IN COMPARISONS. A number of habitual comparisons are used to enhance the nature of the qualifier.

Compare—

nim ki tarah kar'vá, bitter like nom (very bitter).
hirap ki tarah cańcal, fickle like a deer (very fickle).
samudra ki tarah gambhir, profound like the ocean (very profound).

shahad ki tarah mithá, sweet like honey (very sweet).
yakşa ki bhááti krpan, miserly like Yakşa.
shishu ki bhááti saral, simple like a child.
sááp ke samán krúr, villainous like a snakc.
svapna ke samán mithyá, false like a dream.
karna ki tarah dáni, liberal like Karna, etc.

compound verss. The occurence and meanings of compound verbs is another peculiarity of the Hindi language, so much so that their translation into any other language is a problem.

Compare—

main ne kháná khá dálá showing a sense of haste, abruptness and completion.

main a gaya showing suddenness and definiteness.

vah a pahunca showing effort and expectation.

cale baithe for 'go and sit', showing resolve.

lo suno invites first attention and then audience.

Also note the distinction between ve bel uthe, he spoke up, implying alertness, expectation and suddenness, and ve bel pare, he spoke up unexpectedly and abruptly.

USAGE IN VERIS. The use of particular forms of concrete verbs with particular nouns is notable.

Compare—

táná már'ná, to strike a taunt, but gáli dená, to give ar abuse.

pul bándh'má, to tie a bridge, but sarak banáná, to make a

makal man'ma, to beat copy, but hadel upand, to fly a joke.

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cakkar már'ná, to beat a round, but gherá dál'ná, to put a siege.

Compare H. ve mere cácá hote hain, and Punj. oh merá cácá lag'dá hai, he is my uncle.

For the peculiar uses of other parts of speech, see the following chapter on Sematology of Grammar.

2. ii. Idioms.

The field of idioms in Hindi is altogether unexplored. A semantic evaluation of idioms would be very useful. The most important caution is needed against the confusion of idiom with usage. Thus idhar ká udhar honá, to go from this side to that, ijjat kar'ná, to respect, árám meá honá, to be in rest, koi na koi, someone or the other, kimat thah'ráná, to fix price, kahiń mar, somewhere else, ochá honá, to be mean, and a host of other phrases which have no peculiarity of sense are usages rather than idioms. A foreigner, or an Indian with a foreign trend of thinking, might find by-meanings in them. But they have a literal meaning for the speakers. They have been erroneously included by Sarhindi it his Dictionary of Hindi Idioms.

TRANSLATABILITY. It is important to note that words composing an idiom do not separately imply that meaning. mithi means 'sweet', and churi means 'knite.' terhi means 'crooked', and khir, boiled rice. When associated, they imply a new meaning, mithi churi being 'a cheat', and terhi khir, a difficult matter. In fact every word that changes meaning passes into an idiom.

Some idioms are universal and easily translatable, as ág par tel dál'aá, to pour oil on fire, i.e. to add to excitement.

khán ká pyásá, blood-thirsty, i. e. ready to take life. kutte kí mæt mar'ná, to die dog's death, i. e. uncared for. sir lená, lit, to take head, to behead, to kill. tang hál, narrow circumstances, poverty.

Some do not give clear explanation. A large majority of our idioms are such that it is difficult to translate them literally. If we attempt to do so, they have a different signification, or are often obscure or meaningless or abourd, as the following—

sát páás kar'ná (lit. to do seven-five), to be in doubt. sídh báádh'ná (lit. to limit straightness), to aim at. ul'tí málá pher'ná (lit. to move beads wrong side), to wish evil. sír kháná (lit. to eat head), to make noise, to tease. havá lag'ná (lit. to have air), to be affected; etc., etc.

elliptical expressions. They suggest what is unexpressed. The meaning becomes clear when the word understood is supplied. Thus—

dúr ki kah'ná (lit. to talk of a distance), refers to talk.

din pag'ná (befalling of a...day), i.e. the foul day.

din púre honá (completion of...days), i.e. the period of pregnancy.

din áná coming of the...day), 1e. the last day.
jí meň rah'ná (to keep in mind), i.e. to intend.
jí kí nikál'ná (to turn out...of the heart), i.e. emotion.
ján par á ban'ná (befalling...on life), i.e. misery.
gat honá (coming of...fate), i.e. the last fate (death).
kyá parí hai (what...is there), i.e. need.
ap'ní ap'ní par'ná (to be in one's own...), i.e. care.
in'kí camak'tí hai (his...shines), i.e. fame.
cut'kí máng'ná (to beg handful...), i.e. alms.

Similarly shoe-heating is implied in tol tol ke pag'má, (10 get...in balance), time in gáphe ká sáthí, (companion in hard...), method in ek bhí na cal'má, (not even one...is effective), pity in jí bhar áná, (filling...in heart), resolve in than jáná, (fixing...), abuses in gin gin kar sunáná, (to give...in succession); etc. Thus the words by themselves have no semantic change. But as they imply an extra meaning, their idiomatic nature is unquestionable. In fact, all metaphor is elliptical.

VERBAL IDSOMS. Then there are idioms in which the verb alone implies a metaphorical meaning without affecting the substantive. The majority of Hindi idioms are of this nature. Note that kát'má (to cut) in din kát'má, to pass the day and kald kát'má (to complete imprisonment); báádh'má (to bind) in pul báádh'má (to build a bridge) and ás báádh'má (to entertain hope); uráná, to fly, in dháp uráná, to bask the sun, dhan uráná, to spend money, khabar

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uráná (to start a rumour); and kháná, to cat, in ghin kháná, (to hate) and takkar kháná, to collide, have distinctive meanings.

Compare Puni. daliddar kat'na, to end a misery, da khana, to be deceived.

SUBSTANTIVAL IDIOMS. Then there are idioms in which the substantive is transferred in meaning, without a change in the meanings of the verb.

Examples-

andherá (darkness), grief, in andherá cháná.
chánh (shade), protection, in chánh meá honá.
gin'tí (counting), importance, in gin'tí meá honá.
ág (fire), strife, in ág utháná.
ghat (a water jar), heart, in ghat meá bas'ná.
kissá (story), dispute, in kissá khatam karo.

MORE THAN HALF-IDIOMS. Idioms consisting of an adjective and a noun may have one or the other used to denote a secondary meaning.

Examples of adjectives alone with changed signification—andhi sar'kar, unjust (blind) government.

uth'ti javani, blooming (rising) youth.

taka sa javab, refusal (copper-coin-like) in reply.

khali din, unoccupied (empty) day.

thandi mar, invisible (cold) hurt.

tang hal, wretched (narrow) condition.

gah'ri nind, sound (deep) sleep.

tir'chi bat, uncandid (crooked) view. Examples of nouns alone changing meaning-

rám (Rama), person, in akele rám, lonely person, khál (skin condition, in ap'ni khál meá masta, satisfied with one's own lot.

FULL IDIOMS. Examples of the whole group (adjective with noun) used metaphorically are given below—

terhi khir (crooked rice pudding), hard task.
dhái din ki hukúmat, govt. for 2.1/2 days, temporary pleasure
thandi gar'mi (cold heat), showy friendship.
khushám'di tastá (flattering pony), a flatterer.
rúi ká gálá (a ball of cotton), white.

cik'ná ghará (greasy jar), a shameless person. háth ká khilimná (hand's toy), a favourite person. andhe kí lak'rí (blind man's staff), support. mom kí nák (waxen nose), fickleminded. dhobí ká kuttá (a washerman's dog), vagabond ; etc., etc.

The number of idioms of the last type are quite common. Pt. B. S. Dinkar Sharma, whose compilation of idioms is yet considered to be the best*, refuses to take such expressions among idioms, as he says, they have no verb. He simply calls them idiomatic phrases. Similarly when verbs alone imply a suggestive meaning, they are called idiomatic verbs and he says that they are not idioms in the true sense of the word.† This is ridiculous. Idiomatic phrases and idiomatic verbs are only forms of idioms. They may not be 'whole idioms', but their idiomatic nature is undoubted.

Again, idioms in which all the words including the verbs changemeanings are not many. As illustrated above, an idiomatic phrase may have ten percent, twenty five percent, fifty percent, seventy five percent or a hundred percent metaphorical meaning, according as one, two, three, or all words of the phrase develop an unusual meaning and according as that meaning travels further in the field of suggestion. An evaluation of idioms on semantic considerations would be useful.

3. BASES OF IDIOMS.

(i) THE HUMAN BODY.

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THE EYE — THE HEART — THE NOSE — THE EAR — THE ARM — THE HAND — THE MOUTH — THE PACE — THE BELLY — THE HEAD, ETC.
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- (ii) IMMEDIATE SURROUNDINGS.
 - NATIONAL DRESS THE DIET PROFESSIONS MILITARY LIFE — THE FAIR SEX.
- (iii) ORGANIC LIFE.
- (iv) INORGANIC LIFE.
- (v) HABITS, CUSTOMS AND SUPERSTITIONS.
- (vi) HISTORY, MYTH AND TRADITION.

^{*} A Dictionary of Idions, by Dr. Bhola Nath Tiwari, is a very recent publication.

[†] Hindi Muhav'ra kosh, paricay.

3. i. The Human Body.

The earliest language is somatic, as it issues from, so it centres about the body. It is not only concrete, it is physical, egocentric and even, it may be said, soma-centric. That is, it uses the self, the body, as the central point of reference. A very large number of our idioms are somatic in origin. Some remind us of gesture language.

The following may be semantically compared with examples given under Metonymy [VI. 4. vi (a and b)].

sir hilana (to shake head), to refuse.

áńkh carháná, áńkh dikháná (to raise or show eyes), to be angry.

ánkh már'ná (to beat or wink eyes), to make a sign.

háth mal'ná (to rub hands), to repent.

dánton tale ung'li dabáná (to press a finger under teeth', to be astonished.

munh pher lend (to turn face), to dislike.

munh banda kar'na (to shut the mouth), to be silent.

háth bándh'ná (to bind or fold hands), to request.

kánoń par háth rakh'ná (to put hands on ears), to be surprised.

hath par hath mar'na (to strike another's hand with one's hand), to promise.

háth phailáná (to stretch hands), to beg. anguthá dikháná (to show the thumb), to refuse.

chátí thoák'ná (to pat the breast), to venture.

muáh terhá kar'ná (to distort the face), to be displeased.

THE EYE. Generally the names of the parts of our body represent the action for which they are capable or the attributes which they are imagined to possess. The idioms reveal the conceptions of our ancestors regarding the various parts of our body. For example, the eye is considered to be the seat of personal shame and respect. Compare ankh nici hona, lowering of the eye, to feel a sense of shame, ankh na uthana, not to raise the eye, to feel ashamed, ankhoa par baithana, to seat on eyes—to respect. It is the inlet for love. Compare ankh lay'na, fighting of eyes—falling in love, ankhoa lagina, to set eyes on—to love, ankhoa ki rah dil men, through the eyes into the heart—feeling love in the heart. It is an instrument

of attention. Compare áákh cák'ná, mist the eyes = to lose attention, áákh baád kar'ná, to close eyes = to remain inattentive. It is the outlet for anger, wish or any other emotion. Compare áákh carháná, to raise eyes = to be angry, áákh dikháná, to show eyes = to frighten, áákh dekh'ná, to see eyes = to await orders. It attracts (áákhoá meá mohiní honá, mesmerism in eyes, áákh miláná, meeting of eyes = attracting one another). It sees (áákh mtháná, to raise eye, to see, áákh dál'ná, to put in eyes, to look at, áákh phút'ná, to be blind), and it sees through for knowledge (áákhoá ká par'dá hatáná, to find insight or knowledge, áákh khol'ná, to open the eye, to impart knowledge). It is the abode of sleep (compare áákh carháná, raising of eyes, to be drowsy, áákh khol'ná, opening of eyes, to wake), etc., etc.

THE HEART. dil, heart, is the organ of feeling. It is the seat of love and affection, hatred, joy, sorrow, courage, secret and in fact all life.

Compare-

dil dukháná, to hurt
feelings
dil phir'ná, to be disgusted
dil bah'láná, to amuse
dil meň rakh'ná, to kcep
secret
dil tor'ná, to disappoint
dil hí dil meň, secretly, in
mind.

It is the heart, the mind and the brain-all in one.

Compare-

dil men bas'na, to live in the heart, to be liked.

dil men phir'na, to move in the mind, to think.

dil se utár'ná, to forget.

dil se, whole-heartedly.

dil men, in mind.

It is remarkable that chátí, chest, díl, heart, and kalejá, liver, sometimes, represent similar ideas. This further shows the simplicity of the common people who do not bother much about the physiology of human body. díl chal'ní honá, chátí chal'ní honá, kalejá chal'ní honá, have the same meaning i.e. to suffer heavy shocks. chátí par (díl par or kaleje par) sááp let'ná, to

feel jealous, to be distressed at another's success, chátí (kalejá or díl) phat'ná, to be disturbed with grief or jealousy, chátí (kalejá or díl) dharak'ná, to be frightened, chátí (kalejá or díl) patthar kar'ná, to have patience, may also be noted.

if or dil is conceived as a living organ having various feelings and activities. It moves, comes in, goes out, runs, and runs fast, it may wander about, but it can be arrested. It grows, throbs, jumps and becomes ambitious. It has its likings and dislikings. It feels pain and sickness. Sometimes it behaves like a child and like a lovely babe as it is a plaything itself. Like a flower it may bloom or wither. Like a fruit, it may be sour or tasteless, raw or ripe. Like glass it may be soiled, cleaned, broken and never repaired. Like a house, it can accommodate persons and things. It is a valuable property as the resort of love. It can be set on fire, it gives out smoke and it may be reduced to ashes. It can be occupied by some one else, stolen or robbed, given up or shared with some one. It may be filled in or emptied like a vessel.

THE NOSE. nak, the nose, as the most prominent part of the face, stands for respect in the society.

Compare-

nák tincí honá (to have a higher nose), to have more social appreciation.

nák kat'ná (cutting of the nose), to lose respect and status.
nák rakh'ná (to keep the nose), to preserve one's honour.

It is used especially to express hatred or disapproval.

Compare-

nák carháná (to raise the nose), to show hatred.

nak sikor'na (to squeeze the nose), to dislike.

nák phat'ne lag'ná (bursting of the nose), to feel stinking smell.

nák par gussá rah'ná (to have anger on the nose), to be readily angry.

An animal's nose is also used to control it. Hence we have mak med sut'li pirona (to string the nose), nak med tir dal'na (to put an arrow in the nose), to guide, to control.

THE EAR. The faculty of hearing and attention belongs to the

(to put ears), or kán dená (to give ears), to listen; kán khel kar sun'ná (to listen with open ears), to be attentive; kán meá tel or rái dál baith'ná (to sit with oil or cotton in ears), to be inattentive or negligent; kán meá uág'lí dená (to put finger in the ears), to be deaf to what is said; and many other idioms refer to this signification. Animals use their ears to give warning and we have kán khare honá (raising of ears), to be alarmed; centanná hená (to have four ears), to be very alert; kán na hiláná (not to move ears), to remain heedless; kán púńch phat'kár'ná (to thrash ears and tail), to give warning; etc.

THE ARM. The arm is used for protection and support.

Compare-

bánh pakar'ná (to hold the arm), to support.

banh barhana (to extend the arm), to come to help.

bánh dená (to give an arm), to help.

bánh tút'ná (breaking of the arm), to be without helpers or friends,

THE HAND. The hand is used to give and take, to hold and to do various deeds. Giving and taking is implied in—

háth khol'ná (to open hands), to spend.

hath tak'na (to look at others' hands), to depend on others.

háth dho baith'ná (to wash off hands), to lose.

háth bándh'ná (to bind or fold hands), to beg.

hath and (to come into hands), to procure.

hath samet'na (to withdraw hands), to stop giving money, etc.

The activity of the hand is referred to in-

háth khiác'ná (to pull in the hands), to remain aloof.

hath par hath dhare baith'na (to sit with one hand on the other), to sit idle.

háth baitháná (to settle hands), to practise.

háth pánv hiláná (to move hands and feet), to work hard.

THE MOUTH. much, the mouth, represents speech in a large number of idioms, as—

much khol'ná (to open the mouth), to speak.

muáh ká kará (hard-mouthed), outspoken.

much thak'nd (tiring of the mouth), to talk much.

much pakar'ná (to catch the mouth), to gag.

much par láná (to bring on to the mouth), to be about to

speak.

much so lal jhay'na (showering of diamonds from the mouth), to utter pleasing words.

Compare Punj. much nal much jor'na (to join mouth with another's month), to talk in whispers.

It is used to eat food, as referred to in the meanings of much dál'ná (to put the mouth, as an animal does), to eat. much caláná (to use the mouth), to chew the cud, to eat. much már'ná (to strike the mouth), to feed oneself.

Compare Punj. much jutha kar'na, to eat something, much suk'na, to feel thirsty.

H. much mitha kar'na (to sweeten the mouth), to give a bribe, to eat sweets.

much bhar and (to have a filling sensation in the mouth), to feel greedy.

THE FACE. muńh, the face, is the index of feelings, as—
muńh utar'ná (falling down of the face), to feel ashamed.
muńh par basanta phúl'ná (spring flowering on the face),
to be confounded or pale.

much pher'na (to turn the face), to abstain from.

much dekh'na (to see the face), to expect, to be astonished.

much phulana (to have the face swollen), (Punj. mach vat'an, to twist the face), to frown.

It also represents honour, as in-

much uj'lá honá (to have a clean face), to come off with honours.

much kálá kar'ná (to blacken the face), to disgrace. much ká kháná (to be beaten on the face), to be defeated. much par thúk'ná (to spit on the face), to defame.

THE BELLY. pet, the belly, represents livelihood, as in—
pet ká dhandhá (the work for the belly), employment.
pet ká t'ná (to cut the belly), to live wretchedly.
pet ká kuttá (dog of the belly), a drudge.
pet, the stomach, refers to hunger and thirst, as in—
pet ká ág (fire of the stomach), hunger.

pet jal'ná (burning of the stomach), to be very hungry.

pet bhar'ná (to fill in the stomach), to eat fully.

pet meń dál'ná (to put into the stomach), to eat or drink.

pet bańdh'ná (binding the stomach), to eat less than one's

appetite.

net barháná (to grow the stomach), to eat voraciously.

It is understood as womb and seat of progeny in-

pet ki cotti (thief of the womb), a woman whose pregnancy cannot be easily known to others.

pet gir'ná (falling of the womb), to miscarry. pet rah'ná (to have womb), to be pregnant.

It stores even ideas and we say pet ká hal'ká (light-bellied), one who cannot keep secrets, pet kí bát, a secret, pet meá rakh'aá to keep in the belly), to keep secret.

THE HEAD. sir is the head, meaning skull as well as the whole part of the body above the neck. Compare sir utar'aa, sir kat'aa, to behead, to kill. It is also the brain, as in sir khana, (lit. to eat the head), to harass, sir khapana (lit. to consume the head), to tax the brain.

It is used to show respect and obedience to others.

Compare-

sir carhana (lit. to raise one on the head), to exalt.

sir tor'na (to break another's head), to subdue.

sir uthana (to raise the head), to revolt, to disobey.

sir niváná (to bend the head), to be humble.

sir ankhon par hona (to be on the head and eyes), to be respected.

As the foremost part of the body, it is expected to endure all troubles and sorrows.

Compare-

sir par par'na (to fall on the head), to befall.

sir ukh'li men dena (to put the head in a mortar), to be in trouble.

sir se pani guzar'na (crossing of water over the head), to bear no longer.

sir par áná (to come on the head), befalling of calamity. sir ká hojhá (burden of the head), responsibility.

etc., etc.



The idioms on other important parts of the body or similarly conceived. We shall have occasions to refer to them again in the next sections.

3. ii. Immediate Surroundings.

The idioms in Hindi represent the whole life of our common folk, who interpreted their ideas in concrete terms. Their experiences in the home, in the shop, in the field and in the narrow world which was theirs, are fully recorded in these memorials of their rustic, simple and unsophisticated life. It is a remarkable fact that modern life does not so much contribute to the formation of our idioms.

NATIONAL DRESS. It is the simple dress consisting of coli (jacket), dhoti, (loin cloth), colá (shirt), pag'rí (turban), kap'rá (cloth), játá (shoe), jámá (garment), cádar (sheet) which represents various ideas.

Compare-

ap'ni cadar men (in one's own sheet), within one's means.
coli daman ka sath (companionship of jacket and scarf),
close relationship.

dhoti dhili hond (loosening of the loin cloth), to be afraid.

kap'rod med hond (to be in clothes), to menstruate.

jame na samana (not to be contained in one's garment), to be overloved.

colá badal'ná (to change the shirt), to transmigrate.
pag'ri saábhál'ná (to recover the turban), to revive honour.
játe kháná (to eat shoes), to be beaten.
colá choy'ná (to give up the shirt), to die.

THE DET. The simple diet consisting of ghi, butter, dál, pulses, ágá, flour, reti, bread, dádh (milk), khic'ri (cooked rice), khir (milk and rice), mithái (sweets), and laddú (a sweetmeat), namak (salt), have inspired a number of ideas, as in—

ate dal ká bháv (the rate of flour and pulse), experience. atá dhílá homá (loosening of flour), to get into trouble. ghí ká kuppá lurh'káná (to upset a jar of ghee), to be ruined. gup cup ki mithái (silent sweetmeat), indescribable thing.
terhi khir (crooked milk rice pudding), hard task.
búr ke laddú (sweetmeat of saw-dust), ostentation.
páńcoń uńg'liyáń ghi meń (all the five fingers in butter),
good days.

duch ká sá ubál (boiling like milk), temporary excitement. cat'ná kar'ná (to make sauce), to crush.

cup'fi mar do do (two breads and those, too, greased), overindulgence.

gur gobar kar dená (turn sugar into dung), spoil the work.
namak mirca miláná (to mix salt and pepper), to exaggerate.

PROFESSIONS. The native village professions are responsible for a number of concepts related to them in some idioms. Compare—

kolhá ká bail (the bull on the oil-press), a drudge.

dánri már'ná (to strike at the balance bar), to weigh less. gali kamáná (to carn the street), to clean latrines.

kulhiyon men gur phor'nn (to break sugar balls in the carthen vessel), to work stealthily.

The following idioms, for example, are derived from agriculture and the field.

ek láthí se hánk'ná, to treat alike (lit. to drive with one stick).

khet kamana (lit. to earn at the field), to till. Compare the sweeper's gali kamana, to clean latrines.

hathelf par sar'son (lit. mustard on the palm of the hand), clear proof.

kuáń jháńk'ná (to peep into the well), to be perplexed.

Punj. ukh'lá char'ná (to beat the mortar), to beat hard, un láh'waná (to shear wool), to cheat, i.e. to deprive the man (sheep) of his money (wool), aláná sil car'ní (to lick a slab without salt), to do a useless job.

VALUETARY LIFE. The Indians have always been famous for their valour and warlike pursuits, which gave them a number of idioms, such as—

maidán már'ná (to beat the field), to win.

khet rah'ná (to remain in the field), to die in battlefield.

rap caph'ná (to go up the field), to start for fighting.

hallá bol'ná (to shout a raid), to attack.

raújak cát'ná (to lick the powder), to get fused.

golá ugal'ná (to turn out shells), to throw bombs.

tal'vár ke ghát utár'ná (to bring down on the platform of sword), to kill.

tal'váron kí chánh men (in the shade of swords), in the

ciliá carháná (to raise the string), to throw an arrow. kám áná (to be used), to be killed.

etc., etc.

THE FAIR SEX. It has been accepted that ladies have played a great part in the formation of our idiomatic language. In fact, idioms and proverbs are a special feature of women's style.

Compare—

cálhá thandá honá (cooling of the stove), to be poor.
jal'tí ág meá pání dál'ná (to pour water over burning fire,
to appease.

jhárá pher'ná (to use the broom), to ruin.
chán dál'ná (to sieve), to search hard.
chal'ní kar dál'ná (to make like a sieve), to tear.
kap'roá meá honá (to be in clothes), to menstruate.
ágá bhárí honá (to have the front heavy), to be with young.
cutivá háth meá honá (to have the lock of hair in hand), to
control.

roti ki khák ihár'ná (to duster the bread), to flatter.

3. iii. Organic Life.

The observations of our village folk about the nature of animals, birds, trees, vegetables and fruits are contained in quite a large number of idioms. They show close communion between man and animal life. The habits of the animals and birds have been analogically applied to men for special effects.

Compare the following idioms from animal-life-

dum dabá kar bhág'ná (to run with the tail pressed in), to run away beaten.

handar bhab'ki (shouts of a monkey), mere threat.

bag'çuş honá (to have the reins broken), to be uncontrolled.

tongue.

kán khare kar'ná (to raise ears), to be alert, alarmed.

dum hilana (to move the tail), to flatter.

kán páách phat'kár'ná (to shake up ears and tail), to be cautious.

thát ká suí kí nák se jáná (passing of the camel through the eye of a needle), to be impossible.

bher cal (the way of the sheep), blind following.

cmk'ri bhái'ná (to forget the bounce or jump), to be at a fix.
tattá pár honá (crossing over by the pony), to have the work
done.

sing samana (to push the horns in), to find shelter.

The following idioms contain lessons from birds-

ullá ká patthá (the young of an owl), an idiot.

uliú phańsana (to ensnare an owl), to beguile.

tote ki si áákheá pher lená (to turn away eyes like a parrot), to be faithless.

hath ke tote up'na (flying away of the parrots of the hand), to be perplexed.

do do concen hona (to come to two beaks), to squabble.

makkhiyáá már'ná (to kill flies), to be idle.

de'ti ciriya pakar'na (to catch the flying bird), to rely on uncertainty.

cythic ke par nikal'na (coming of wings on an ant), to be near death.

purant candul (the old bird), experienced.

It has been seen that these idioms relate generally to domestic animals and birds with the habits of which the people are quite familiar. Names of other animals and birds also occur but such idioms signify nothing very particular or intimate about those animals and birds. On the other hand, they have a bearing on human life in relation to wild life.

sheer he kan katar'nd (to cut the cars of a lion), to do the impossible.

AND SEPTIMES

gidar bel'ná (barking of a jackal), to be desolate (a superstiton).

The application of lessons from vegetable life may be noted in the following—

khajúrí coti (the tuft of a palm tree), single.

tural ke phul sá (like the flower of Tori vegetable), short-lived.

sákhe dhánoá pání par'ná (watering the drying rice field), to change for a better condition.

gálar ká pet khoľná (to open the stomach of a Gular fruit), to disclose a secret.

dhák ke tin pát (like the only three leaves of a Dhák tree), poor.

3. iv. Inorganic life.

The idioms containing observations on inorganic life, though not many, are quite numerous. The characteristics of air have been recorded in—

havá ho jáná (to become wind), to run fast, to disappear.

havá ká rang dekh'ná (to see the way of the wind), to seek opportunity (as the farmer does at the threshing field.)

havá meá gááth bándh'ná (to tie a knot in the air), to attempt the impossible.

havá lag'ná (to be touched by air or climate), to be affected.

Fire has more activities than air and these have been represented in the following idioms. It denotes strife, which has the same effect as fire. It refers to anger which is the fire of our emotions.

Compare—

ag pani ka valr (the enmity between fire and water), natural enmity.

ag pay'ma (falling of fire on), to be dear in price.

ag homa (to become fire), to be angry.

ag bar'sana (to shower fire), to be very hot.

ag uthana (to pick up fire), to create disturbance.

ag bena (to sow fire), to create trouble.

ag men ghi pay'ma (pouring of ghee or oil in fire), to be excited.

ag lag'ma (to be set on fire), to take ill, to get excited.

ág bhabháká honá (to be a blaze of fire), to be red with anger, ág ká put'lá (an idol of fire), angry person.

ig tal've se mikal'ni (coming out of fire from the sole of the feet), to be very angry.

In old times it was a precious thing and was not easily obtainable, as it is evident from—

ág par'má (falling of fire on an article), to become dear in price.

ag ke mol (at the price of fire), expensive.

Fire is also conceived to be ever burning in our stomach, and that fire consumes all food, as shown in—

pet ki ag (fire of the stomach), hunger.

ág bujháná (to put out fire), to satisfy hunger.

The uses, characteristics and semantic conceptions of other things are recorded in the following examples—

Water in-

pani lag'na (to be touched by water), to be affected by climate.
pani hona (to become water), to melt.

pání par niáv dál'ná (to lay the foundation on water), to have a weak foundation.

pani mea ag lagana (to set fire to the water), to do the impossible.

pání pher'ná (to wash with water), to destroy.

pani dená (to give water), to offer libations as the Hindus do, pani bhar'aá (to carry water), to confess inferiority.

pani na mang'na (not even to ask for water), to die at once.

Rains and clouds in-

chájoá baras'ná, to rain basketfuls, to rain in cats and dogs. baras par'ná (to rain), to weep, to shower abuses.

River and Sea in-

sat samundar par (across the seven seas), very distant.

langar dal'ad (to put the anchor), to stop,

ulti ganga bahana (to make the Ganges flow upwards), to do an irregular or reverse act.

madi nav sadyog (the union between the current and the boat), chance.

may med khák upáná (to talk of raising dust in the boat), to

consure in vain, to talk nonsense. pap hi mav (the boat of sin), sinful life. darda hi lahar (the wave of pain), pain.

Dew in-

es pay'ná (falling of dew), to wither, to get disappointed.
es ke motí (pearls of dew), transitory things.
es se pyás bujháná (to quench thirst with dew), an improbability.

Planets in-

samin par á rah'ná (to come down to the ground), to decline, repent.

ramin meå gar'nå (to be set into the ground), to be ashamed.
cånd par thuk'nå (to spit on the moon), to blame an innocent person.

cánd ká tuk'rá (a piece of the moon), beautiful.
tárá honá (to be a star), to be high, to be away.
sitárá camak'ná (shiming of the star), to have good fortune.
sanicar áná (coming of the Saturn), to be unlucky.
mín mekh kar'ná (to count planets), to find fault with.
etc., etc.

3. v. Habits, Customs and Superstitions.

Many Hindi idioms refer to the human habits in general.

lál pilá honá (to be red and pale), to be angry.

ang chúná (to touch a limb, say the ear), to swear.

agar magar honá (to say 'if' and 'but'), to argue.

dárhí phat'kár'ná (to pat the beard), to be pleased,

ung'li kát'ná (to bite the finger), to show wonder.

munh pher lená (to turn away the face), in indifference.

chátí thonk'ná (to pat the chest), to show courage.

angathá cám'ná (to kiss the thumb of a person), to flatter.

angathá díbháná (to show the thumb), to disappoint.

dásten tale ung'li dabáná (to press a finger under the teeth),

to wonder.

gin gin har din hát'ná (to pass days by counting them), to pass hard times. hat dekh'ma (to look at the way), to wait.

More numerous than these are the idioms which are based on national manners, customs, and ceremonics.

The following list, though big, would be an interesting study. Each of the idioms refers to a detailed account of a ceremony. A comparison of the literal and the implied meanings in the following will, however, explain the implication of Indian conditions.

pag'ri uchai'na (to toss up another's turban), to disgrace.

cadar utar'ma (to remove a person's sheet), to disgrace.

caran chana (to touch the feet), to greet.

ghut ne tek'ná (to bend knees), to make a humble request, to accept superiority.

times carh'kar kah'na (to shout from a high place), to proclaim.

cháti se lagáná (to take a person to the chest), to meet.

pany pay'ma (to fall on another's feet), to be humble.

thori pakar'ná (to touch another's chin or heard), to beseech.
dupattá badal'ná (to change scarf with another girl), to be
friends.

táig tale se níkal'ná (to go under the legs), to confess defeat. kháátá gár'ná (to fix a pole), to show boundary line.

gadhe par carháná (to mount a person on an ass and take him about the city), to defame.

No further explanation of the connection between the literal and the metaphorical meanings of these idioms is required. It is evident that dupattá badal'aá, for example, has come to mean 'to make friends' as in India interchange of the head-dress is considered to be a sign of intimacy. Also compare Punj. pag vatátá (to change turbans), to make friends. Similarly by taking a person on the back of a donkey and make him go about the city is a sign of proclaiming him to be a bad character. Hence gadhe par capháná means 'to defame'.

The following refer to Hindu customs and ceremonies-

janmaghásti meá piná (to drink with the first medicine during childhood), to be habitual.

god bhas'ad (to fill the lap with something), to give presents to bride.

tiká bhej'má (to send a mark), to betrothe.

ghi ke diye jalimi (to burn ghee in lamps), to rejoice.

VΠ

celá múár ná (to shave a disciple), to win over a personmhal uthans (to pick up burnt bones of a dead person), to finish obsequial rites.

tin'ka tor'na (to break a blade of grass), to show disconnection. tat ulat'na (to upset the mat), to be insolvent.

khát se utárá jáná (to be taken down from the bed and laid on the ground), to be dying.

kalank lagana (to set a black mark on the forehead of a person), to disgrace.

chathi ká dúdh (milk from the sixth day of birth), happy

doná carháná (to place a cupful of sweets), to give offerings. car ke kandhe par jana (to go on the shoulders of four persons), to die.

kapál kriyá (the end of the skull in cremation), burning of a dead body.

kanthá utháná (to pick up a neck rosary), to swear. cariyan thandi kar'na (to break bangles), to become widow. ganga nahana (to bathe in the Ganges), to finish a duty. ganth bandh'na (to tie the knots), to marry,

etc. ,etc.

Also compare Puni, phere dese (to take round the fire), to marry, chuhárá depá (to give dried dates), to betrothe, matthá elittar'na (to decorate the forehead), to adorn the bride, tel cons (to spill oil), to welcome the bride and the bridegroom after marriage. mag banhani (to tie a new turban), to take the place of the dead father.

The following idioms depict Muslim life-

kafan sir se bandh'na (to tie the funeral cloth with one's head), to be ready to sacrifice life.

kafan ke liye kunri na hona (not to have a shell for funeral cloth), to be very poor.

bismilla kar'na (to say Bismillah i.e. 'in the name of God'), to

iman chor'na (to give up faith or religion), to be dishonest.

int he live masiid dhahana (to destroy the mosque for the sake of a brickbat), to do a great harm for the sake of a trifle.

id ká cáád (Id moon), rare but most desired.

yasin path'na (to recite the Yasin chapter from the Qoran), to proclaim a man's death.

kurán utháná (to take up the Qoran), to swear.

kabra ke mur'de ukhár'ná (to take out dead bodies from the grave), to revive past things.

ap'me háthoú kabra khod'ná (to dig one's own grave), to harm oneself.

There are idioms depicting the life of Brahmans, Rajputs, shop-keepers, bankers, physicians, servants, barbers, goldsmiths, boatsmen, mendicants and, in fact, all walks of social life.

Compare-

shri gaņesh kar'nā (to say Sri Gaṇesh), to start.

māldān mār'nā (to beat the field), to win.

dukān uṭhānā (to raise the shop), to close the business.

dukān lagānā (to open a shop), to arrange things all about.

tarājā ho jānā (to be a balance), to be equalled in power.

masundā bānāh'nā (to bind the manuscript), to plan things.

āsāmī banānā (to make a client), to win a person over.

cāndī kar ḍāl'nā (to turn into silver), to reduce to ashes.

bhār jhoāk'nā (to poke an oven), to do menial work, to waste time.

bhár meá jhoák'ná (to throw into an oven), to destroy. bhatthí dahak'ná (burning of a kiln or hearth), to earn much. kalácí lagáná (to use the scissors), to cut hair.

sir manr'na (to cut hair), to rob.

manish'dhar men chor'na (to leave in the whirlpool), to leave in trouble.

some par sohage ka kam (the action of zinc on gold), glorifying or doubling effect.

kanthi bándh'na (to tie a neck rosary), to become a mendicant.

alakh jagana (to call in the name of God), to beg.

It is particularly to be noted that although one may understand meanings of all words, he connot know the meanings of such idioms without an historical knowledge of the people and their language. The relationship between semantics and culture is close, indeed.

There is quite a good number of idioms which contain relics of customs which have long disappeared. Language is, indeed, a useful record of national history, past and present.



kambal orhá kar látímá (to plunder after winding a person in a blanket), to hoodwink, as Pindaris did.

birá utháná (to pick up the betel leaf), to take up a challenge, as the Rajputs did in the presence of elderly people.

tiliani'li dena (to give just a handful of sesamum seeds), to dispossess, to give up, as in Hindu civil law.

kalam cám'ná (to kiss the pen), to praise a writing, as done by Kayastha writers.

gajar dam (at the time of the gong), 4 o'clock in the early morning, as was the custom in Mughal times.

The following punishments were at one time prevalent.

karáhi meň háth dál'ná (to put hands in an iron boiler), to swear.

nákoá came cab'váná (to oblige a person to take in gram through the nose), to harass.

mak coti kat'na (to cut off the nose and braids of hair, as of a woman), to humiliate, to defeat.

káth meá pánv dená (to put the feet in a wooden frame), to give trouble, to punish.

kán katar'ná (to cut off ears), to beat a person in a fight, tavá sir se bándh'ná (to tie a pan on one's head), to safeguard oneself.

tal'von se ankhen mal'na (to rub one's eyes with a big person's soles), to flatter.

khái udhar'ná (to be fleeced), to be severely beaten.

gadhe par carháná (to mount a person on an ass), to disgrace. jútiyán sir par rakh'ná (to put another's shoes on one's head), to flatter.

tal've cat'na (to lick the soles of a person's feet), to flatter.

lásh galiyoá meá khic'váná (to drag the dead body in public streets), to proclaim a criminal.

Compare Punj. jháte tel páná (to put oil in the hair of a woman), to disgrace in public, sir sváh páná (to put ash on the head), to condemn. tel dí karáhí vic palná (to be put into a cauldron of oil), to suffer an ordeal. juttiván khániván (to be beaten with shoes), to be disgraced in public.

It appears from the following that these idioms were founded during the Mughal revolutionary period, when the coins, more particularly the copper coins, of one government were rejected in

the time of another-

taká sá javáb, refusal.

taká sá muáh lekar, disappointed.

Compare Punj. take cal, slow movement.

The beliefs and superstitions of the Hindi people and their significance may be studied in the following—

chátí par bál homá (to have hair on the chest), to be generous.

guaddi ki mágin (coil on the nape of the neck), inauspicious, billi uláágh'ná (meeting a cat across the way), to become ominous.

dith utar'na, to remove the evil eye (by charms).

ullá bol'ná (crying of an owl), to be desolate.

centh ká cáád honá (to be the moon of the 4th day), to be the cause of infamy.

gadhe ká hal caláná (to yoke an ass in the plough), to fall into ruins.

cumrasi men pay má (to be in 84 births), to transmigrate.

ds'man men ched hond (to have a hole in the sky), to rain heavily.

dáhine honá (to be on the right hand), to be auspicious.

muharram ki paldáish (to be born in the Muharram days), to be unlucky.

áákh pharak'aá (throbbing of the eye), to show sign of a coming event.

khun saphed hona (to have white blood), to be merciles.

dant tala men jam'na (to have first teeth in the jaw), to die young.

dákhod se ján níkal'ná (losing life, as it were, through eyes), to be waiting.

ásonl pháy'ná (to tear a cloth), to practise magic.

and lema (to take up the end of a person's scarf), to welcome.

ul'ti malti phes'mi (tell beads wrong side), to invite calamity. kill jag'mi (to set a nail), to ward off evil.

tal'va khuj'land (an itching sensation in the sole), to be about to travel.

canddramá bal'ván hená (to have the moon strong), to have good luck. etc., etc.

3. vi. History, Myth and Tradition.

Connected with the above are a number of idioms describing historical, mythical or fabulous events. History is represented in the following—

rám'rájya (lit. government of Rama), pleasure and peace. nádar'sháhí (lit. rule of Nadir shah), tyranny.

cám ke dám (lit. leather token money), forced government, as by the water-carrier who reigned at Delhi for a couple of days.

rávan kí sená (lit. Rávana's army), black people.

bibhisan hona (lit. to be Bibhisana) to disclose secrets.

Bibhisan was Ravana's brother who had joined Rama, the enemy.

karnadan (lit. charity of Karna), liberal, selfless charity.

hammir hath (lit. fortitude of Hammira, the Rajput), ideal fortitude.

harishcandra honá (lit. to be Harishcandra), to be truthful.

shab'ri ke ber (lit. fruits of Shabari), affection and devotion.

Shabari was a Bhil woman, who devotedly presented fruits to Rama in the forest.

birá utháná (lit. to take up a betel leaf), to take up a challenge.

mina bajar (lit. a jewellery market), a show of ladies etc., as is said to have been arranged by Akbar.

Punj. sikhá sháhí, (lit. the rule of the Sikhs after Ranjit's death), anarchy and disorder.

Mythological beliefs may be noted below-

ang'hin, Cupid (lit. without body). It is said that cupid was burnt to ashes by God Shiva whom he disturbed in his penance. Rati, the wife of Cupid, entreated Shiva and persuaded him to revive his life. Shiva restored his life but not his body. Cupid lives without the physical body.

varunalay, the sea (lit. the abode of Varuna, the god of waters). kapali, Shiva (lit. one who wears skulls about his neck). Shiva, the god of death, is fond of dancing in this dress.

marad bhraman, homelessness. It is said that Namada, a semigod, wanders about from one region to another, generally on missions of friendship or enmity, and never stays at one place. sarvagrás, full eclipse (lit. full morsel). It is believed that eclipse takes place when ráhu or ketu, the typhon, devours the sun or the moon, partially or fully.

parvatári, Indra (the enemy of mountains). It is supposed that mountains used to fly about at one time. Indra cut off their wings and since then they are stationary.

There are a few idioms containing references to the folk-lore which had become popular throughout the country.

141 bujhakkar, a wiseacre. There are many stories depicting the foolish wisdom of an imaginary 141 bujhakkar.

shekh'cilli, a dreamer, one who makes castles in the air.

pááceá savároá meá honá, to count oneself among big

persons. It is said that four royal horsemen were going to

Delhi. A villager on pony also joined them. When asked

by some passersby as to where these four riders were going,

the villager replied, "We, the five riders, are going to Delhi,"

misbe micor, a miser (lit. a lemon-presser). A person used to go to a hotel with a lemon which he would offer to another customer. Courtesies exchanged and he was also offered a meal. He lived on his lemons like that for several days.

tis'mar khan, a man who thinks himself to be very brave.

A person once killed thirty flies. He thought he could kill men as well, and he joined the service of his king.

The following remind us of Arabo-Persian legends and history lailá maj'núú ká prem, great love. Laila and Majnu have been two lovers from Arabia.

yésaf ká husna, ideal beauty. Yusaf was a boy of Egypt, He attracted a large number of ladies.

káráá ká khazáná, the immense wealth of a miser. Qárdn was a Jew in the time of Moses.

4. SEMANTIC CATEGORIES OF IDIOMS.

(i) GENERAL.

RESTRICTION — GENERALIZATION — PEJORATION AND AMELIORATION — SYNECHOCHE — METONYMY.

(ii) CONCRETION.

(iii) IDSOMATEC VERSE.

4. i. General.

RESTRICTION. It is a distinguished fact that, although in general the tendency is towards specialization of meaning, idioms implying restricted meaning are few and far between. Elliptical idioms are, of course, many, but other types of restriction are uncommon. The following are due to euphemism—

ágá bhárí honá, to be pregnant.
na honá, to be dead.
pááv bhárí honá, to be pregnant.
adhárá jáná, to miscarry.
ghar ábád kar'ná (to set up a house), to bring a bride.
etc., etc.,

av'tar hona, to incarnate, shraddha kar'na, to perform obsequies, are restricted due to their use in religion, but they are not idioms, as some of the Hindi compilers would like us to believe.

GENERALIZATION is comparatively common. Thus-

ánc ká khel (lit. a play of fire), hard task.

akásh pátál ká antar (lit. difference between the nether regions and the sky), great difference.

ag phus ká vair (enmity of fire and straw), natural enmity.
shankh bajáná (lit. to blow conchshells), to rejoice.

moti pirona (lit. to wreathe pearls), to write beautifully.

koylon par mohar (seal on coals), pennywise pound foolish.
ek dál par rah'ná (lit. to live on one branch), to be resolute.
áte men namak (lit. salt in flour), little.

ate he sath ghun pis'nd (lit. grinding of weevil with flour), hardship on small people along with big ones.

ate dal ha bhav malam hona (lit. to know the rate of flour and pulses), to get an experience.

andhi ke am (lit. mangoes from storm), cheap articles.

agari pichari lagana (lit. to fix ropes in front and behind)

to control.

myan se bahar homa (to be out of sheath), to lose patience. etc., etc.

Compare Punj, berá banne láná (to take the boat to the bank to come out of a difficulty, pahár nál takkar láná (to strib against a mountain), to fight against a big personality, gal paint (t jump at the throat), to quarrel.

Idioms, as a rule, originate from a particular person of authority in a particular class or society. When they are disseminated by travellers, monks, merchants, laymen, and scholars, they become a national property. Therefore, the movement of idiomatic meaning is from the special to the general.

resoration and amelioration. Pejoration appears to be more common than amelioration. Idioms are usually employed to deride, to ridicule, or to direct. Praise is direct, claborate, and consists in literal phraseology. Censure or criticism needs pithy, ironical and suggestive idioms. The following denote a good sense.—

pasa pay'na (falling of the dice), to have a good luck.

anta ban'na, to end well.

dákhed med khubh'ná (to prick in the eyes), to be attractive. gin'ti honá, to be counted among big persons.

dhang ká honá, to be of good style.

The following are the examples of pejorative idions-

ankh uthana, to look with an evil eye.

khel khel'na, to play tricks.

gul khiláná (blooming of a flower), to do a bad act.

gat bandnd (to deal with), to beat.

enhát're caph'ná (to go up to the balcony), to become a prostitute.

mach nikal and (having a face out), to become weak.

javáb dená (to give a reply), to refuse.

jhande par carhana (to raise on a pole), to disrepute.

jhárá pher'ná (to broom), to destroy.

Compare Punj. mán lag'ná, to have a bad name, but mán pieche mar'ná, to die after good name.

SYNECDOCHE. Just as the majority of phrases are specific in form and general in meaning, so also in many idioms the part is used to denote the whole.

pulang lagana, to spread a bedding, etc.

mading pacti med rah'nd (to remain in combing the hair), to be busy in toilets.

gar'dan phaneini (to get the neck entangled), to be in trouble.

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tuk'rá máng'ná (lit. to beg a piece of bread), to beg. galá churáná (to free the neck), to be free. táng tor'ná (to break the leg), to beat.

METONYMY. Some idioms are based on irony.

Examples-

gánth ká párá, selfish (lit. having a firm knot). acche mile i. c. we could not meet (lit. we met well). bará ghar, jail (lit. the big house).

Not a few are hyperbolic. Compare the literal and implied meanings of the following—

lahú piná (lit. to drink another person's blood), to harass.

angar baras'na (raining coals), to be hot.

ákásh chúná (to touch the sky), to be high.

jáme meá na samáná (not to be contained in the garment), to rejoice.

nak par makkhi na balth'ne dena (not to let the fly sit on the nose), to be under no obligation.

ag babula hond (to be a ball of fire), to be angry.

gu kháná (to eat dung), to err.

til dhar'ne ki jagah na honá (to have no room even for a grain of sesamum), to be full.

The other forms of transference of meaning are also obtainable. The sign may denote the signified, as in—

kambal urháná, to send to jail (lit. to make one wear a blanket).

kantha dena, to make a Sadhu (lit to give neck rosary).

The function of one limb may be attributed to another, as in—
ááthoá meá kah'ná, to make a sign (to say in the eyes, to
sign with eyes).

ankhon men samana, to be liked (to fit in the eyes, i.e. the heart).

The place may denote the product or the receptacle may signify the contents, as in—

god lená (to take into the lap), to adopt a son.

god bhari rah'na (to have the lap full), to have children.

ghar jana (going of the house), going out of the wife and children.

dáli dená (to give a basket), to give presents.

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delá láná (to bring a palanquin), to bring a bride. áákh baith jáná (collapsing of the eye), to lose eyesight.

4. ii. Concretion.

Concretion of form and abstraction of meaning is, however, the most prominent feature of Hindi idioms and deserves to be treated in a separate section. We have already noted how various parts of the body are conceived to denote a number of metaphorical attributes, actions or ideas. Man has measured most things, abstract as well as concrete, according to his own self. Besides himself, he has compared the abstract life to the concrete life about him.

It is a special characteristic of Hindi idioms that of the two elements, substantive and verb, one must be concrete. Often, both are concrete and the whole concrete idiom denotes an abstract sense.

Examples-

cár cáád lag'ná (having four moons), to grow in grandeur. gar'dan jhukáná, to bow, to submit, (lit. to bend the neck). kán khaye kar'ná (to raise ears), to be alarmed. takkar kháná (to bear a collision), to suffer loss.

An abstract attribute may be conceived as a concrete thing.

'Eyesight' (dich or dreti) can be stolen, thrown away, tied, applied, burnt or killed. It is considered as a fighter, as an animal, as a nail and even as a carpet.

Compare-

dish curámá (to steal eyes), not to face boldly.
drast pheák'má (to throw eyesight), to see from afar.
drast báádh'má (to bind the sight), to hypnotise.
dish lag'má, to have an evil eye.
dish jaláná (to fix or pitch eyesight), to stare.
dish jaláná (to burn the sight), to remove evil eye.
dish már'má (to strike with the sight), to make a sign.
dish lagáná (to fight with the sight), to stare.
dish bacáná (to avoid the sight), to shirk.
dish bácháná (to spread eyes), to receive devotedly.

'Honour' (Hjat) can go up and come down. It can be sold and its price may increase or decrease. It may be lost. It may be hart

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and sometimes thrown into the dust.

Compare-

mán ghat'ná (decreasing of honour), to have less honour.

ijjat bec'na (to sell honour), to lose honour.

ijiat do kori ki rah'na (to make honour worth a cowrie shell), to disgrace.

ijiat khona, to lose honour.

iffat men batta lagana (to strike honour with a stone), to defame.

ijjat mitti kar'na (to turn honour into dust), to defame.

'Work' (kam) may walk or stop. It can be seen and divided. It grows and is at last dead.

Compare-

kám caláná (to drive work), to start work.

kám ruk'ná, stopping of work.

kám dekh'ná (to see work), to find work.

kám bánt'ná, to divide work.

kám barh'ná, increasing of work.

kam bhugat'nd, finishing of work.

'Anger' (krodh or gussa) behaves like an evil spirit, fire or poison. Similarly, 'Fate' (bhágya) shines like a star. It may be straight (favourable) or crooked (unfavourable). It may keep waking or go to sleep. It can break into pieces.

Attributes are things that can be given and taken and handled.

Compare-

bhed lend, to take secret vacan dená, to give a

gused lánd, to bring anger danda dená, give punishment murád páná, to obtain a desire ijjet men hath dal'nd, to put hands into another's honour.

promise They can be made and unmade like other substantial articles.

Compare-

bát banáná, to make a plan mán banáná, to build respect nám banáná, to make name kám bigár ná, spoiling of work bot bigar no, unmaking of plan.

Some are considered as eatable.

thokar kháná (to cat a stroke), to collide. dhokhá kháná (to eat fraud), to be deceived.

ghin kháná (to cat hatred), to hate.

As a rule, concrete verbs are preferred to abstract ones. They

make the expressions definite and direct.

Connected with this form of concretion is what may be called animalization of inanimate objects, or even abstract things.

Compare—

kám ke sir honá (to be over the head of work), to be busy. kathá baitháná (to seat recitation), to have the scriptures recited.

gap upáná (háák'ná) (to fly or drive a gossip), to gossip, ghar baith'ná (sitting of the house), falling of the house, vyápár cal'ná (going on of trade), to have good business, dil ur jáná (flying away of the heart), to be perturbed. khabar upáná (to fly a news), to issue a news, akal car'ne jáná (going away of the sense for grazing), lose sense.

kap're bhi kate khate hain (even clothes bite), to be hot.
pánv so jánn (sleeping of the toot), to be benumbed.
zabán ko lagám denn (to bridle the tongue), to control it.
bát ni gai honn (coming and going away of a talk), passing away of something.

bát ká sir pair na honá (a talk without head and feet), to be meaningless.

kál ke gál meá jáná (to go mto the jaws of death), to die. hát háńk'ná (to drive a talk), to talk. pet pál'ná (to nourish the belly), to earn.

pan's men par lag'na (to have wings on the feet, to run.

This tendency for concretion is also responsible for metonymy in idioms where cause is used to denote effect and vice versus. For examples see p. 264.

4. ili. Idiomatic Verbs.

Ellipsis, we have seen (pp. 188-189 & 261, as responsible for idiomatic signification of several verbs.

The following are the examples of verbs that have developed abstract meanings, although they are still used in their concrete sense as well.

jing'mi (to dust), to warn.

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baras'ná (to rain), to say harsh words. ubhar'ná (to rise), to be excited. khul'ná (to open), to be free. sar'ná (to burn), stink. akar'na (to be stiff), to be proud. tul'ná (to be balanced), to be ready. iág'ná (to wake up), to be alert. dhun'ná (to card as cotton), to beat. ganth'na (to put a knot), to make friends. phál'ná (to bloom), to be happy. ulajh'ná (to be entangled), to quarrel. bhun'ná (to be parched), to fret. ial'na (to burn), to be jealous. phisal'na (to slip), to be tempted. jam'na (to freeze), to become firm. nác'ná (to dance), to rejoice. tor'na (to break), to dissuade. thuk'rana (to kick), to disregard. munr'na (to shave), to plunder.

The use of concrete verbs in various associations has led to a large variety of meanings.

Compare-

kháná, to eat, and píná, to drink, in dháp kháná, to enjoy the sun, cug'lí kháná (backbiting), to sneak, dhakká (blow), thokar (kick) or cot (hurt) kháná, to bear a hurt. ján (life) kháná, to worry, krodh (anger) píná, to suppress anger.

áná, to come, and jáná, to go, in dil (heart) áná, to love, kám (use) áná, to be useful, khel (play) áná, to know playing, ánákh (eye) or munh (mouth) áná, to have bad eye or mouth. kuch (something) jáná, to lose something.

dená, to give, and lená, to take, in dil (heart) dená, to fall in love, kám lená, to take work, to use, zabán (tongue, word) dená, to promise, khabar (news) lená, to attend.

pay'må (to lie, and uthåmå (to raise, to bear) in ram pay'må, to have a fight, jhåthå (untrue) pay'må, to be belied, gallå (throat) pay'må, to have bad throat, garmi (heat) pay'må, to be hot, dåm uthåmå, to set price, kharea (expense) uthåmå, to spend, ghåtå (loss) uthåmå, to suffer loss, dharma (faith) uthåmå, to swear.

lag'na (to be attached, to be obtained) in ank (eye) lag'na, to

sleep, háth (hand) lag'má, to obtain, jí (heart) lag'má, to like, páth lag'má, to have a bad back, kán (ear) lag'má, to listen, havá (air) lag'má, to be affected by climate, ág (fire) lag'má, to burn, thikáne (abode) lag'má, to rest.

cal'ná (to walk) in galá (throat) cal'ná, to sing, zabán (tongue, cal'ná, to talk, churá cal'ná, to use a dagger.

khol'ná (to open) and báňdh'ná (to tie) in jí (heart) khol'ná, to be frank, pul (bridge) báňdh'ná, to make a bridge, tak (stare) báňdh'ná, to stare, rosá (fast) khol'ná, to break fast, samín báňdh'ná, to prepare a plan.

lar'ná (to fight) and laráná (to cause to fight) in jám (life) laráná, to work hard, gap laráná, to gossip, áákh (eye) laráná, to see, zabán (tongue) laráná, to talk.

dál'ná (to put in) and nikál'ná (to take out) in já (heart, life) dál'ná, to revive, áńkh (eye; dál'ná, to see, háth (hand) dál'ná, to handle, ádat (habit) dál'ná, to become habituated, gálá (abuse) nikál'ná, to abuse.

curáná (to steal) in dith (eye) curáná, to avoid, dam curáná, to hold breath, jí (heart) curáná, to shirk work.

uráná (to fly) in gap uráná, to gossip, caln (enjoyment) uráná, to enjoy oneself.

káťná (to cut) in dín káťná, to pass the day, kald káťná, to finish imprisonment, cakkar káťná, to make a round, kalejá káťná, to hurt feelings.

már'má (to kill) in man már'ná, to control the mind, cíkh már'ná, to shrick, chaláág már'ná, to jump, mál már'ná to embezzle money, táná már'ná, to taunt.

tắt'má (to break) in đải tắt'má, heart break, jor tắt'má, to lose strength, zulam tor'má, to do injustice, ghamauda tor'má, to curb one's pride, pání tor'má, to let water pass into other channels,

bhar'ad (to fill) in chátí (chest, heart) bhar'ad, to melt with pity, dag (steps) bhar'ad, to walk, gháv (wound), bhar'ad, to heal, ghátá bhar'ad, to make up the loss, pet (belly) bhar'ad, to feed oneself.

Why a particular verb should have been used with a particular noun for a particular meaning is a subject for further study, to which helps will be found in previous chapters. But it will be seen that the concrete literal meaning is in the centre of all the various idiomatic by-meanings.

VI

5. PROVERBS.

- (i) THE COMMON ATTRIBUTES OF A PROVERS AND AN IDIOM.
- (ii) THE DEGREE OF METAPHORICAL MEANING IN A PROVERS.

GROUP A - LITERAL PROVERBS.

GROUP B - METAPHORICAL OR ALLEGORICAL PROVERES.

GROUP C - METAPHORICO-LITERAL PROVERBS.

5. i. The common Attributes of a Proverb and an Idiom.

A proverb shares several characteristics of an idiom. It is short and terse. It comes from the people and is actually used by them; like an idiom it results from the common, everyday, experiences of our village folk and particularly ladies. Its subject-matter is also the same. The genesis of an idiom and a proverb is common. Some person, endowed with imagination, puts a thought into fanciful or apt words. He does not do it purposely, but probably feels himself compelled to utter certain words instinctively. The occasion, whatever it may have been, inspires him to use a certain ornamentation of speech. We find a variety of ornamentations serving the purpose either of emphasizing the meaning or of making the idiom or proverb terse by some omission, or of enlivening it by way of animating lifeless things or by giving concrete forms to abstract attributes or by implying metaphorical sense. An apt and concrete combination of ideas, or a profound truth, naturally makes a lasting impression on the listeners, who repeat it when a similar occasion arises. If the utterance is capable of application to events and situations other than the one which originally evoked it, then its chances of preservation become much greater.

Concretion and generalization are, then, the most prominent characteristics of a proverb as well as of an idiom. akelá camá bhár mahiá phog'tá (a single gram cannot break the furnace), is the concrete expression of the experience of a parcher. When generalized camá (gram) denotes a man and bhár (furnace), the world full of the struggle for existence; and the whole proverb means: A single person does not count against odds. Compare English: One swallow does not make a summer. har man'dárí khá cárí, literally means "do labour and eat buttered bread", or "no sweet without sweat", but the generalized meaning is "If you work hard, you must get a good

reward". ap'ne ghar men kutta bhi sher heta hai (even a dog is a lion in its own kennel) started as the statement of a single and restricted event as also its equivalent "every cock is proud of his own dung hill". Or Punj, ap'se ghar har koi bad'shah, everyone is a king in his own house. Here kutta bhi suggests any living being, and sher house is the metaphorical way of saving to be hold and heroic". In káth ki handívá ek bár carh'ti hai (a wnoden kettle can be used on fire only once, kath ki handiya denotes the abstract and general 'trick or frailty' and, therefore, the whole comes to imply a general principle of behaviour. In kutte ko ghi halam mahin hota (a dog cannot digest butter), kutta is 'a mean person' and ghi hajam home is to have wealth or honour assimilated and glorified', and the whole means: A low born man feels too proud of his honours, koy'lon ki daláli (brokerage in coals) is one form of wretched work, and much kálá honá (to have the face blackened) is one form of evil or disgrace resulting from such a wretched work. The generalization of the proverb key lon ki dalali men much kálá has come to mean that a wretched business results in evil or that evil communications corrupt good manners. Compare Eng. "He who toucheth pitch is defiled therewith". cor cor masere bhai, two thieves are cousins. 'The 'thieves' represents all evil-doers and 'cousins' denotes the idea of intimacy, association or relation. The proverb, generalized, means "Evil doers are intimate friends". Compare Punj. cor dá yár gandhakap or Eng. "They agree like pickpockets in a fair."

Thus each of the above proverbs records one particular event or concrete idea. As a matter of fact, every proverb is based on an event in someone's experience. Sometimes, a proverb inay contain the gist of a long event in life. Some proverbs may remind us of a legend, fable or historical fact. But in each case the meaning has been extended to general spheres of life.

Examples-

***akkheå ki skiyåå rah galå (lit. only the needles in the eyes were left), the success was nearly achieved. A prince once happened to fall into the hands of a witch, who left him tranced with needles pricked into his body. One day a princess came to that garden and saw the prince in such a condition. She took pity on him and started taking out needles from the body. At last the day came when the needles in the eyes only were left. She asked her

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maidservant to sit by the side of the prince, while she herself went to the tank for a bath. The maid-servant picked out the remaining needles from his eyes. When the princess, who had fallen in love with the prince, returned, she found that the prince had risen from his trance and taken the servant to be his wife.

We leave the whole subject to paraemeologists. Here it is desired only to note that a proverb, like an idiom, may refer to one event in a life or a series of events in fiction or history. It is impossible to understand the significance of the following idioms without a knowledge of the folk-lore and history of the Hindi speaking people.

hardr ká nænkar hun baingan ká nahin (lit. I am your servant and not a servant of the brinjal) reminds us of a servant who said "yes", "yes" according to the wishes of his master although he proved himself to be self-contradictory.

cor ki darhi men tin'ka (lit. there is a straw in the thief's beard), a guilty conscience accuses itself.

anger khatte hain (lit. grapes are sour) is a well-known proverb.

andher nag'ri campat raja, take ser bhaji take ser khaja
is the subject of a drama by Bharatendu Harishcandra describing
what is injustice and indiscreetness.

kahán rájá bhoj kahán gangá telí contains an episode of the life of Rájá Bhoj of Dhár and means "There is all the difference between a king and a beggar."

5. ii. The Degree of Metaphorical Meaning in a Proverb.

A. LITERAL PROVERBS. Proverbs have one important peculiarity, namely, that they may have a purely literal meaning, whereas there can be no literal idioms. The following are quite clear in meaning and yet they are proverbs all the same.

jab tak sans tab tak as, Hope lasts with life.

ap'ni inrat ap'ne hath, Honour yourself and you will be honoured.

kám pyárá hal cám pyárá nahíá, Handsome is that handsome does.

na home se thorá acchá, Something is better than nothing.

áp burá jag burá, He who is bad thinks that the whole world is bad.

parab ya pacchim ghar sab'se uttam, East or west home is the best.

turat dán mahá kalyán, He doubles the value of his gift who gives in time.

It appears that the survival of literal proverbs is due to their force, subtlety and exactness. Some literal proverbs are so absolutely literal that any attempt to widen their meaning would be utterly useless. They are bound up too closely with their particular subject-matter.

B. METAPHORICAL OR ALLEGORICAL PROVERBS. The allegorical proverb has a longer life on account of its suggestive power than the literal expression. The number of such proverbs is very large in Hindi. Regarding fully allegorical proverbs, it may be said that some of them have never been and never could have been used literally. Some did have had a literal meaning at one time, but on account of change in beliefs and superstitions, their literal sense is now lost.

Examples-

- dhobí ká kuttá na ghar ká na ghát ká (lit. The dog of the washerman could be neither at the river nor at his house), No man can serve two masters.
- nam sam cáhe kháke billí haj ko (lit. The cat becomes a pilgrim after taking the life of 900 rats). A young whore, an old saint.
- sup bole to bole chal'ni kyá bole jis men hazár ched (lit.

 The winnowing basket may boast, but how can the sieve which has a thousand holes).
- paác kaheá billí to billí hí sahí (lit. When the leaders say, it is a cat, it is a cat, indeed). Compare Eng. When all men say, you are an ass, it is time to bray.
- divar ke bhi kan hote hain. Even the walls have cars.
- koyal hoy na uj'li, nun man sabun laye (lit. The black cuckoo cannot turn white even if nine maunds of soap may be used). Can the Ethiopian change his skin?
- rái ká pahár banáná or Eng. to make a mountain of a mole hill.
- hathelf par sar'son jamana (lit. to grow mustard on the palm of the hand), to produce a thing at once.

G. METAPHORICO-LITERAL PROVERDS. The differentia specifica of the last group are not always distinguishable from the corresponding attributes of the other two groups. Anyhow, when a proverb derived from one particular sphere of life is extended to a wide field of circumstances, national or even common to mankind in general, it does not interfere in any way with the stability of literal meaning in the limited circle of its usage.

The majority of our proverbs can be readily interpreted in either the literal or the figurative sense.

Examples-

tairák hí dúb'te haiń, Good swimmers are oftenest drowned. jit'ná gur it'ná hí míthá, or Eng. The deeper the well, the colder the water.

jahán gur vahán makkhiyán, Bees haunt the honey pot. díye tale andherá, (darkness under the lamp), The nearer the church the farther from God.

jaldí pakká so jaldí sará, Soon ripe is soon rotten.

andhe ke áge hírá kańkar sab barábar, a pebble and a diamond are alike to a blind man.

dúdh ká jalá chách phúńk phúńk kar pítá hal, or Eng.
A burnt child dreads the fire.

It may be noted that the movement is always from the literal to the figurative and not in the opposite direction.

The metaphorico-literal proverbs may have a varying degree of allegorical meanings. They may imply ten percent, twenty five percent, fifty percent or even seventy five percent, metaphorical meaning.

The element of metaphor in the following is very small—

saccá jáye rotá áye, jhúthá jáye hańs'tá áye (The truthful come back weeping and the liars return happy) is used in its literal sense but with reference to the law-courts. jab tak jíná tab tak síná (So long as you live, you have to sew some cloth or the other). Here sewing, a particular form of activity, represents work in general. The meaning of other words is clear. In akal bari ki bhalás (lit. Wisdom is bigger than a buffalo). Here buffalo stands for physical power. In áj kidhar ká cáád nik'lá haí, cáúd, the moon, refers to a dear person who is seen rarely or only occasionally.

The following contain a higher percentage of allegorical sense, adhelá na de adhelí de (He gives half a rupee and not half a pice), penny wise, pound foolish.

ma kuttá dekhegá na bhanákegá (The dog will neither see nor bark), what the eye sees not, the heart rules not.

ap'ní chách .ko koí khattá nahín kah'tá or Eng. Every man thinks his own keese swans.

syáná kauvá dám meň nahíň phaňs'tá, or Eng. Old birds are not caught with chaff.

Except for the implied meanings of a couple of words in each case, the meaning and use of the proverb is clear and expressive.

The following proverbs have more than half allegorical element-

thei dukan phika pak'van (High shop, tasteless roast) cf. much cry, little wool; or great boast, little roast.

dekhiye unt kis kar'vat badal'tá hai (See what side the camel turns), cf. See which way the wind blows.

khar'búze ko dekh'kar khar'búzá rang pakar'tá hal, i. c. Society moulds men

thandá lohá garma lohe ko kát'tá hai (Cold steel will cut through hot iron), A soft answer turneth away wrath.

It stands to reason that the allegorical sense is much more latent than the literal in any proverb. The same applies to fables and fairy tales. The literal sense is immediately obvious and can be readily understood. It, therefore, follows that when the allegorical interpretation of a proverb is more obvious than the literal one, then that particular proverb must be regarded as primarily figurative.









FIGURATIVE USE OF LANGUAGE

- 1. AN OUTLINE OF THE STUDY.
 - (i) POETIC LANGUAGE.
 - (ii) VALUE OF IMAGINATION.
 - (iii) NATIONAL CONCEPTION OF FIGURES
 - (iv) SUGGESTIVENESS.
 - (v) FIGURES AS MODES OF SEMANTIC APPEAL.

1. i. Poetic Language.

Hindi is a spoken as well as a literary language. It is the speech alike of the layman, scientist and the poet. As the speech of the scientist and the philosopher, it is dominated by specific terms for the description of which a layman would require many round-about phrases. The thoughts of the uneducated man are not all crystallised and his terminology is, consequently, usually non-specific. We have noted how differentiation of synonyms, specialization of meaning, retrenchment of ambiguous terms and definition of vocabulary form the characteristic tendencies of the scientific Hindi. The scientist, the lawyer, the logician and the philosopher must say things in perspicuous and unequivocal terms. The layman is concerned about expressing his ideas in terms that do not involve labour or affectation on his part.

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Poetic expression, however, depends not so much upon what is said but upon how beautifully a thing is said. Poetic expression is "the best expression of the best thought of a people".* It is in the way of putting ideas charmingly that literature or Kávya lies. Literature means a unification (Sáhitya, from sahita-, literally 'togetherness') of sound and sense,—a poetic harmony, the beautiful appropriateness, the perfect mutual understanding, the well-adjusted and harmonized combination, of sound and sense. In literature, written or unwritten, dialectical or standard, we reach the finest stage of language.

It is understood that the main object of literature is to stimulate, edify or entertain. This stimulation, edification or entertainment arises from poetic beauty which consists in expressing not boldly and in a humdrum manner but imaginatively, giving the idea a hiding and a revelation through deft suggestion. Imagination and expressional deviation from the chief characteristics of poetic language.

1. ii. Value of Imagination.

Figurative expression, though characteristic of literature, is a quality of all language. Every man has poetic faculty and literary moods. In all languages, even the most uncultured, the figurative use of words is one of the most natural efforts towards expression.

A term, the use of which is based on imagery, contributes to clearness especially when the language lacks a literal word for the idea, as when we speak of tes dháp (lit. sharp sun), kará járá (hard cold) or trácá vicár (high thought). We have seen in Chapter V that the figurative use of words is an important cause of semantic change. Such a use is necessary for linguistic development. Without this aid, language would have remained a starkly limited process. Without it there would have been meaning but not the evolution of meaning. But for this, language could never have developed into the formidable instrument that now enslaves, endangers, and yet exalts and magnifies humanity.†

Figures of speech as images vividly present sound and sense.

^{*}Encylopaedia Britannica—under 'Literature'. +Goldberg, p. 70.

They attract attention and directly impress the mind. They give a brilliant and fascinating aspect to literature. They are used for the sake of vividness, emphasis and effect. We call a man 'an ass', or call him mithá, sweet, or kará, hard, for emphasis and also to call up emotions associated with the literal meaning of the words.

Language is to express our thoughts to others. They can, of course, be expressed even in the plain language. But the addition of illustrative images would put extra force into our language.

Compare-

yah ásán kám nahín, it is not an easy task, and khálá jí ká ghar nahín, it is not the aunt's house, or yah to pahár sá

málúm hotá hai, it looks like a mountain.

tul'si ká hindí sáhitya meń bará nám hai, Tulsi is famous in Hindi literature and tul'si hindi sáhitya gagan ke candramá haiá, Tulsi is the moon of the sky of Hindi literature, or even tul'si hindi sáhitya meń camak'te haiá, Tulsi shines in Hindi literature.

The expression rakkho meli kapur men hing na hot sugandha, even if you keep asafoetida mixed in camphor, it will not become fragrant, is certainly more forceful than hing kabhi ap'ni durgandha nahin chor'ti, does not give up its bad smell at all.

1. iii. National Conception of Figures.

Figurative language is national. While all languages employ beautiful and imaginative expressions, they, by no means, employ the same terms or the same figures.

Compare-

H. súi kí nák, nose of a needle, and Eng. 'eye of a needle'.

H. áj'kal to áp'ki páńcoń ghi meń haiń, and Eng. 'Your bread is buttered on both sides.'

H. thei avaj, high voice, Eng. 'loud voice', also 'high notes'.

H. yah rupaya nahin bol'ta, Eng. 'This rupee has no ring'.

H. khatiyá ká páyá, foot of a bed, Eng. 'leg of a bed'.

In Sanskrit there are some strange metaphors at which some English critics evince surprise, e. g. asilatá, the creeper-like sword, citácakra, the wheel of the funeral pyre.

Some similarities of expression are interesting.

Compare-

mithe vacan, Eng. 'sweet words', are ke dant, Eng. 'teeth of the saw', ance vicar, high thoughts.

pani ki caddar, sheet of water.

bhed khol'na, to open a secret, etc.

It is a vast subject by itself and we leave it to the comparativist. In this chapter we shall define the scope of imaginative language in Hindi.

1. iv. Suggestiveness.

Another important characteristic of poetic language, we have said, is its suggestiveness or expressional deviation. In guláb ki pańkhuri se sharir par kharońc lag jáy'gi, your body may be bruised by a rose-petal, it is suggested that the person addressed is extremely delicate. In these words of Rávana to Ráma, nahíń khar dúsan, báli maiń, rávan tribhuvan vír, it is not Khara, Dusana or Báli: It is Rávana, the brave, it is suggested that Ráma could easily defeat those ordinary people, but it would not be so in the case of Rávana who claims to be invincible.

This does not mean that semantic deviation or turn of expression is the essential quality of a figure of speech as Mahimabhatta would lead us to believe. Certain types of direct style are as beautiful as any of the 'turns'. The Shabdas of Sur. a number of Tulsi's Campais and Dohas, some Kundalis of Giridhara, Dohas of Rahim and Kabir and the poetry of Prasad, Pant or Nirala contain some masterpieces of the terse style in Hindi. So also the prose of Dwivediji. Varma, Nagar or Agyeya. Figures of speech are meant to be used, not for their own sake, but for the sake of force, clarity and emotional appeal. The one and the only purpose of style is to convey a desired meaning in the most befitting way. And who can deny that sometimes more meaning is understood from plain speech than from figurative language? The relative goodness of any two modes of expressing an idea may be determined by observing which requires the shortest process of thought for the delineation and comprehension of an emotion.

piyá bini sánpini káli rát (without the dear one, the dark

night is a snake) is certainly more forceful than any plain statement could be. On the other hand, the following sentence contains figures but no meaning—

us nar'sińh ne desh ki nuká ko kandhoń par utháyá ur tyág ká púrna paricay diyá. (That lion-man lifted the ship of the country on his shoulders and gave a full proof of his sacrifice).

1. v. Figures as modes of Semantic Appeal.

It is in the light of semantic importance that figures of speech must be evaluated. Semantics deals with figures in so far as they contribute to the formation of meaning, and in this connection the borders of Rhetorics and Semantics meet. Much work has been done on figures of speech from the point of view of a rhetorician. Here we shall take up only broad features and describe the sematological aspects of some of the typical figures with reference to the questions raised above. Figures as various modes of semantic impressiveness may be classified under two headings:

- (1) Those in which phonetic euphony is predominant, i.e., the Shabdalańkáras or Figures of Sound. They are characterized by a musical attraction, and by this quality they impress even children. They will be discussed in the following section.
- (2) Those in which sense is predominant, i.e., the Arthálankáras or Figures of Sense. These may further be divided into two categories—
 - (a) Those in which imagery has the chief roll, and
 - (b) Those which are dominated by suggestiveness or expressional deviation.

Each of these classes may be further assessed according to its semantic appeal. Some figures, we shall see, give rise to delicate suggestions, some thrill and persuade by appealing to emotions, and some are characterized by a literary jugglery which primarily entertains the poet himself and secondarily the audiences of his own type.

It will be noticed in the following sections that the same figures may be employed effectively for emotional appeal as well as to demonstrate literary feats. It has, however, to be remembered that the relative emotionalism of a figure depends largely upon the intellectual capacity of the listener. The poetry in Braj is certainly

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richer in figures of speech than modern poetry in Standard Hindi, and it cannot be denied that our poetry had been gradually losing in pathos and passion until the times of the poet Prasad in the second quarterly of the present century when mystic poetry evolved new figures and symbolic expressions. In recent years experimentalist writers, called New Writers, have given a large number of original figures, but they are either too artful or too obscure to be effective. It is really regrettable that we cannot find in modern literature the stimulating and powerful verses of the type of Bihari's couplets, or Toşanidhi's stanzas, or Sur's songs, or Mira's lyrics. Our prose is comparatively poor in figures. That has made poetry the leader of prose. For effectiveness, clearness and force, we always find poetry quoted in prose.

2. PHONETIC MODES OF SEMANTIC IMPRESSIVENESS

- (i) ALLITERATION.
- (ii) REPETITION.
- (iii) Analogue.
- (iv) PARONOMASIA.

2. i. Alliteration.

We have discussed in the chapter on "Sound and Meaning" that the structure of a word as relying on particular sounds or letters has a purpose. The sound-effects of an expression also help in the realization of meaning. The first impression produced by the sounds on hearing or reading stands to the last. We know how in poetry or prose the recitation of sounds creates various emotions. ALLITERATION (anuprás) produces harmony of word and meaning, sweetness, effect, emphasis and vividness. Note the delicate feelings expressed in lah'rat lahar lahariyá ajab bahár (The waves move and the wavy season is wonderful).

The repetition of [t] intensifies hard feelings in-

tm lagi yá man-sadan meň hari ávalá kehi bát, vikat jutal jm lagi nipat khutal na kapat kapát,

(God will not enter the temple of heart until the portals of treachery are not removed).

The brave sentiments are emphasized in the repetition of aspirated sounds in—

áym juddhabhúmi meá sannaddha bar-bír kruddha ruddhabuddhi hvai hvai rahai viruddha dal'váre halá.

(The angry warrior came to the battlefield. And the enemies began losing their wits.)

In the following, the alliteration of sweet sounds helps in arousing the sentiment of love and the musical combination of sounds enhances the effect intended—

prem vibas manu, kampa pulak tanu, niraj nayan nir bhare piy ke.

(The heart is subjected to love, the body is trembling with horripilation, and the lotus-eyes of the dear one are filled with tears).

The same emotional effects may be noted in the following from some Hindi Folk-songs—

jhil'mil bahelá bayár pavan bhal doli rahí dole nærańgiyá ke dár koiliyá kuhuk rahí.

(The bracing breeze is blowing, the branch of the mango tree is waving and the Koel bird is singing.)

botal barańdi tú mat pi pyáre.

(Do not drink brandy wine, O Dear.)

Often, Alliteration is simply a poetical jugglery and mere verbosity.

Compare-

param punya ká punj tút ne hí válá hal.

(The mass of high merits is going to break.)

kyon kaudratá kí cháp chátí par chapi,

(Why is there the stamp of meanness on heart?)

kann gun ganrav ko langar lagavai jab.

(Who will put anchor to our glory?)

The element of emotional appeal in such alliterations is very meagre, indeed.

2. ii. Repetition.

Repetition of words,* we have noted in the second chapter, adds

^{*}punarukti-prakásh (Elucidation by Repetition).

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an extra meaning, some special force or intensity, as mithe mithe, very sweet, than than, everywhere, bar bar, several times, já já kar, having gone continuously.

Sometimes, the repetition suggests particular emotions and conveys a new meaning,* as chi chi means 'get away' or 'I hate it', hay hay means 'alas', re re ravan means 'O, you hateful Ravana', ram ram denotes 'greetings', and in prabhuvar, yah ha ha kijiye kop shanta (O lord, your anger, please, assuage), the repetition of words suggests a passionate feeling.

Sometimes, repetition is more apparent than real as in SEEMING TAUTOLOGY (punaruktavadábhás).

In puni phiri rám nikat so ái and alí bhanár guájan lage hon lage dal'pát, the synonymous words puni and phiri (again), bhanár and alí (bee), and dal and pát (leaves) suggest that the same meanings have, perhaps, been repeated, but on a closer analysis and realization of the polysemic nature of phiri, alí and pát, the expressions become clear. Here they mean 'returning', 'O friend', 'fall' respectively. punaruktavadábhás is a figure of literary jugglery based on synonymy and polysemy.

In another figure called EXPRESSIVE TAUTOLOGY (latanupras) for its being a peculiar type of expression of the people in Lata (Gujrat), though the repetition of words is essentially a show of literary jugglery, it suggests additional feelings. Compare manusya hal vahi ki jo manusya ke liye mare (Man is he who dies for a man), where the first manusya means 'an ideal man' or 'a true man'.

parádhin jo jan, nabiá svarga narak tá hetu parádhin jo jan nabiá, svarga narak tá hetu.

(He who is a slave, heaven is not for him: It is hell. He who is not a slave, hell is heaven for him.)

Here note that a slight difference in punctuation implies such a vast difference in meaning. Also note the suggestiveness of meaning in—

pút sapút káhe dhan saúcay? pút kapút káhe dhan saúcay?

The repetition of sounds or words is, certainly, not without semantic excellence. There is no use of amassing wealth if the son

^{*}vipedlankar (Successive Repetition).

is good, because, he would never be lacking money. His merits would make him rich. There is no use hoarding money if the son is bad because he would waste it away in no time.

RHETORIC REPLY (citrottar) is similarly effected by repeti-

Skt. kam balavantam shito na vádhate? kambalavantam shito na vádhate. Whom does winter not affect? It does not affect a man with blanket.

and H. tát kahán te páti ái? tát ke hán te páti ái. (Darling, from whom is this letter? It is from a dear one.)

It may also be noted that such a repetition also forms an amusing source of ambiguity. Semantic impression becomes vivid only when the repetition is differentiated by intonation.

2. iii. Analogue.

The figure of speech called ANALOGUE (yamak) is also a case of l.terary jugglery based on polysemy, including homonymy.

Examples—

vah nit kal'pátá hai mujhe kánta hoke. iis bin kal pátá hai nahín prán merá.

Here kal'pátá (torments) is broken into kal pátá (takes rest) in the second line and made a homonym.

In ján'kí dehu to ján kí khair (Return Janaki if you want the welfare of your life), the Analogue is based on the homonymy of ján'kí (Sita) and ján kí (of life).

lothani pai lothani ki bhiti uthi jáy'gi bhúp dur'jodhan ki bhiti uthi jáy'gi

contains bhiti meaning 'wall' or 'heap' in the first line and 'terror' in the second.

kanak = gold and thorn-apple in kanak kanak te smiguni mádak'tá adhikáy.

In ankh lag'ti hal tab ankh lag'ti hi mahin (When the eye is enamoured it has no sleep), note how the two meanings of the idiom ankh lag'na, to love, and to sleep, have been used with effect.

It may be noticed from the above examples that the basic polysemy in each case rouses two images, though only so when the homonymy, at the surface, is intelligible. The semantic effectiveness is consummated only when this double i magery is awakened. The surface homonymy is a clever play on words which borders on amusement, and the roll of imagination in this semantic effectiveness depends upon a penetration into homonymy.

It may also be pointed out that the repetition of words or groups of words in 2. ii. above gives an identical meaning obviously but a different meaning by suggestion only. In Analogue, on the other hand, the repeated words are intentionally and obviously used polysemantically.

2. iv. Paronomasia.

PARONOMASIA or Pun is a polysemantic expression which gives two ideas in one form. It is a favourite and learned type of literary play on words, though instances of puns in common speech are not lacking for which vide the section on Ambiguity in Chapter III. Examples—

vipul dhan anekoń ratna ho sáth láye. priy'tam bat'lá do lál merá kaháń hai?

141, in the above, means 'a ruby' as well as 'a son'. See how appropriate the use is: "Considering that you have brought so many precious stones (things), you must have brought my ruby or my diamond (i.e., my son) as well."

jo rahim gati dip ki, kul kapút gati soi. báre ujiyáro kare, barhe aúdhero hoi.

The nature of a lamp is identical with that of a bad son. The one gives light when burnt (báre), and the other gives light in childhood (báre) (Skt. bályakále). It is darkness when the one is extinguished and it is darkness when the other grows.

By Paronomasia the poet attempts to set up similarity between two ideas. The imagination makes them identical in general and yet diversified in finer details. This identity in diversity is expressed in the form of a pun which, when clearly understood, leads to the realization of Meaning or Rasa.

In common speech, pun is frequently employed in light talk. There are people who have a special knack of deriving pun where none is intended by the speaker. Scientific and technical language usually avoids paronomatical forms.

3. i.

3. METAPHOR AS A FACTOR OF SEMANTIC IMPRESSIVENESS.

- (i) Analogy.
- (ii) METAPHORS. .
- (iii) ABSTRACTION IN METAPHOR.
- (iv) LIVE AND DEAD METAPHOR.
- (v) THE FORCE OF METAPHOR.
- (vi) Additional Modes of Analogy.
- (vii) CONTRAST.

3. i. Analogy.

There are three important means of explaining the meaning of a given word, namely, translation, demonstration and illustration. Suppose we were to tell a person what 'cream' is. We could translate the word into another language in the manner of our bilingual dictionaries and say that cream is malai. But as it is not possible to translate all words, and meanings being national in character, we may resort to demonstration (showing face-cream or dental cream, for which it may be difficult to give an exact equivalent). But we can only thus indicate or represent objects or actions that can be perceived by the senses and which are easily available to the interpreter and the listener. There are certain concepts or ideas that are incapable of indication or representation. Suppose, we were to explain the difference between dhar'na, concentration, and dhyán, meditation. We may, either, employ analogy or, as mathematicians call it, proportion, from sensible things to things which cannot be seen. Again, we may describe a scene in plain language or an object in descriptive and analytical terms, but if we feel we are not understood, we have to bring in illustrative images and multiply our comparisons.

If imagination implies the power to bring things before our mind that are not before us, or to see them differently from others or from ourselves at times, Simile and Metaphor would constitute the best products of imagination and the best means of technical explanation. There is no wonder that they should be considered as the most important figures especially in literature. They have a direct effect and intellectual and emotional appeal.

3. ii. Metaphors.

It may be pointed out at once that there is no fundamental difference between simile and metaphor; their difference is only formal. Metaphor is nothing but the finest type of incomplete simile. It is a simile without the comparative word (jaisé, sé, like) and the common attribute, and denotes identification rather than comparison of two objects. It is born from the instantaneous glimpse of similarity between two objects or two acts. Metaphor, says Aristotle, "is the special mark of genius, for the power of making a good metaphor is the power of recognising likeness. It involves the transference of a name from one object to another which strikes the mind as in some way or other participating in the peculiarities of that object.

We have already noted in the fifth chapter the part played by metaphors in the variation of meaning. A review of their sematology may be given here.

The following categories of application have been noted:

A. Words from animate beings may be transferred to inanimate objects and even abstract things, as—

galá in ghare ká galá, neck of the jar
cotí in pahár kí cotí, top of the hill
áńkh in úkh kí áńkh, eye of the sugarcane
dáńt in áre ke dáńt, teeth of the saw
kán in sitár ke kán, cars of the guitar
andha in andhakúp, blind well. Compare Eng. 'blind alley.'
andhá prem, blind love, bát kí táńg, leg of a talk, bát ká
sir na pair, this matter has neither head nor feet.

In such cases the word comes to be polynymous. The metaphorical sense of a word is generally intelligible by the context, especially and chiefly by the addition of a determinant.

B. Names of limbs of human body may be transferred to mean measures, as—

pane hath, five hands (a hand = 1/2 yd.).

car ung'll, four fingers (finger = 1/2 inch).

Compare 'foot' from Eng. in tin phut, three feet.

It may be noted that in discovering identities and similarities

man measures things by himself. Man is the known, the familiar, by which the unknown and the unfamiliar begin to receive definition. That is why we have so many somatic metaphors.

- C. Besides somatic metaphors, we borrow metaphors from trades, professions, animal life and, particularly, nature. Compare words in—patang ki dum, tail of a kite, játiratna, jewel of the nation, nadi ki shákhá, branch of a river, sansár ságar, the ocean-world, bát tol'ná, to weigh a saying, pání ki caddar, a sheet of water.
 - D. Metaphors may be due to similarity of
- (1) Form, as in mithái ká pahár, a mountain of sweetmeat, bandúk ká ghorá, the horse of a gun, kur'si ki táng, leg of a chair.
- (2) Quality, as in gambhir svar, deep voice, tikşua buddhi, sharp intellect, úńcá shabda, high sound.
- (3) Action, as in tol'kar bolo, weigh and speak, ji jal'ná, burning of the heart.

3. iii. Abstraction in Metaphor.

We have already noted (under Important Variations, Idioms and Usages) that abstract words had originally a material meaning. More examples of transference of material to abstract concepts are—

gyán ká álok, light of knowledge
kál ká srot, the stream of time
lah'rá, shower of rain, tune, enjoyment
shúl, thorn, pain
kharí bolí, standing (standard) language
karí cot, hard hit
karí samasyá, hard problem
tíkhí bolí, sharp speech
míthí báteá, sweet words
gandí bát, dirty word
soc'ná glit. to clean), to think
bújh'ná (lit. to wake up), to know
kháná (to cat), to embezzle
gir'ná (to fall), to deteriorate.

3. iv. Live and Dead Metaphors.

W. B. Fowler and H. W. Fowler (S. P. E. Tract 21) divide metaphors into two classes—live and dead—dead because the speaker and hearer have ceased to be aware that the words are not literal. When a metaphor is used very commonly, its figurative nature is lost and it is understood directly in its secondary sense. The radical metaphors of Max Muller (Lectures on the Science of Language) are all of this type.

Examples-

gokh'rú (lit. cow's hoof), a medicine gobhi (lit. cow's tongue), cauliflower kan'kauú (a crow with ears), kite kukur'muttú (dog's urine), mushroom.

Also note soc'ná and bújh'ná above.

Live metaphors are more distinct in their metaphorical signification, as—

til (sesamum seed), mole mukh'candra, moon-face jivan ki nadi, the stream of put'li (puppet), apple of eye prán-pakherú, life-bird dukh ká samudra, ocean of misery

ahińsa ka shastra, the weapon of non-violence.

Some of these metaphors are a living memorial of the quick perception, the deep insight and poetic imagination of our common folk as well as of the poets.

3. v. The Force of Metaphor.

Metaphors are the effect of economy of speech, and as they are picturesque, accurate and impressive they may be employed for (a) irony, as in bag'lá bhakta, a heron-like devotee, sasurál (the house of father-in-law), jail, (b) endearment as in merá cáád, my moon, merá lál, my gem, or (c) abuse as in suar, swine, gadhá, ass, kuttá, dog, etc.

Thus we find that metaphor is an important force of meaningchange. It is also an important cause of polysemy and synonymy. It is one of the most powerful engines in the construction of human speech and without it we can hardly imagine how any language could have progressed beyond the simplest rudiments. No advance was possible in the intellectual life of man without metaphors, the coining of metaphors being a means to our stock of words. Metaphor is the chief instrument of invention in Semantics.

Generally a metaphor is used for clearness and emotional effect. That is why it is so popular and pervasive. Varied, indeed, are the sentiments depicted by means of metaphorical imagery. There is close relationship between imagery and sentiment. The stronger the feeling, the richer the imageries. Examples, in abundance, will be found in the poetry of Sur, Tulsi, Bihari, Dev, Hariaudh, Prasad, Pant, Nirálá, Mahádevi, or any other Hindi poet.

3. vi. Additional Modes of Analogy.

A large number of figures mentioned by our Indian Poeticians are based on analogy. They are various forms of metaphor and evince fine shades of meaning. In these, the emotional appeal lies in the quality of the metaphor itself rather than in the kind of expression. These forms have arisen as various juggleries of the poetic mind.

In some, however, there is very little semantic peculiarity, and they are used for poetic rather than semantic effect. For example—

- (a) REVERSED METAPHOR (parinám) differs from Metaphor only in form. There is no difference in the meaning of caran kamal (feet lotus) or kamal caran (lotus-feet), lotus-like feet, locan kanj (eye-lotus) or kamal nayan (lotus-eyes).
- (b) The formal difference between THE UNRELATED (anan-vay) and REVERSED SIMILE (pratip) is great, but the semantic effect is the same. In ram ram ke saman hala (Rama is like Rama) or ram ram hala (Rama is Rama), the idea suggested is that we cannot find any person or object similar to Rama. The effect of the figure is to place Rama at a very high level, while analogy would have lowered him. Reversed Simile serves the same purpose. When we say that Rama is firm like the Himalayas (using Simile), we feel suggestively that the mountain has ideal firmness. On the other hand, we give Rama a higher degree of firmness by using the Reversed Simile, i.e. the mountain looks glorified like Rama, or as in—

avani! himádri! samudra! jani karahu vrthá abhimán.

shánta dhír gambhír halá tum sam rám suján.

(O Earth, O Himalayas, O Ocean! Do not boast invain. Rama is as forbearing, as firm and as deep as you are).

Although grammatically Rama and the earth are equally calm, Rama and the Himalayas are equally firm, Rama and the ocean are equally deep, semantically the earth, the Himalayas and the ocean lose their position because they are not matchless.

(c) RHETORIC DOUBT (sandeh), POETIC MISTAKE (bhránti), CERTAINTY (nishcay), FIGURE OF MEMORY (smaran), and POETIC FANCY (utprekṣá), are related figures. The difference between them lies in the form of analogy rather than in the meaning. (1) When we say; is bálak ko dekh'kar mujhe ap'ná svargiya betá yád á gayá (on seeing this boy, I am reminded of my dead son, we actually compare the two boys and mean that they have similar qualities. Memory may, of course, be revived not only by seeing or experiencing similar but also dissimilar objects. chaṭhí ká dúdh yád áná (to remember happy days of babyhood) is generally used in times of difficulty. An old man may be reminded of his youth which he regretfully compares with his present age. Memory may also revive any other associated ideas, as in—

jo pátí húń kuńvar var ke jog malń bhog pyárá to hotí halń hrday tal meń veď náyeń anekoń.

"Whenever I get a dainty fit for my dear son, many a pain arises in my heart," says Yashodhá.

The suggestive power of the figure is due to comparison or contrast which is another form of analogy, as we shall see in the next item.

(2) The same kind of analogy is suggested in the figure of Doubt. Note also that it manages to give more than one metaphor at a time.

kajjal ke kút par díp shikhá soti hal—ki shyám ghanmandal men dámini ki dhárá hal.

The parting of the beloved's hair is suspected to be either a flame of light on a mound of collyrium or a streak of lightning in the dark clouds. The poet, in fact, accepts both these similarities. The doubt is only assumed.

(3) Rhetoric Mistake is another figure of poetic jugglery. In

fact, all metaphor is a mistake, but a bhrántikár expresses that mistake and means the metaphor.

Example-

ghan-rav hari-rav ján ke mat'váro mrg'rái laran calym páche phirym nahiń jab koi lakhái.

The lion mistakes the rumbling of a cloud as the roar of another lion and is thereby excited. Here the rumbling of a cloud is, in fact, compared to the roar of a lion. For the 'lord of beasts' it is a lion's roar.

- (4) Ascertainment simply removes the mistake. But it suggests a metaphor all the same. In half garaj'te ghan nahin baj'te magare, it is ascertained that is was rumbling of clouds and not the sound of drums. Anyhow, it is suggested that clouds did sound like drums.
- (5) Poetic Fancy is nearer to the form of metaphor than any of the above.

kaṇṭha jab ruṅdh'tá hai tab kuch roti húń hoṅge gat janma ke hi mail unheń dhoti húń.

- (By tears I wash the dirt of my past lives, as it were). The relieving power of tears is described metaphorically.
- (d) Sometimes a composite idea may be compared to another idea, as by ILLUSTRATION (nidarshaná), EXEMPLIFICATION (vdáharan), PARALLEL (dratánta), PARALLEL SIMILE (prativastúpamá) and EXPANSION (arthántarnyás). The purpose of all these figures is to substantiate a given proposition by comparison. There is no material difference in the semantic effect of these modes of expression.

Compare-

nidarshana in jo murkhon ko sam'jhata hai vah balu se tel nikal'ne ka prayatna kar'ta hai (He who makes a fool understand things, tries to extract oil from sand), which means nothing more than suggesting the impossibility of the two identical propositions.

udáharan in niki pai phiki lagal bin av'sar ki bát jaise bar'nat yuddha meá ras shrágár na suhát.

(Even a good talk is not relished when it is out of place, just as a sentiment of love is not appreciated in war.)

drejánta in pápá manuj bhí bháj muáh se rám nám

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dekho bhayankar bheriye bhi aj ansu dhal'te.

Here the behaviour of sinful persons has been described as similar to that of dreadful wolves.

prativastúpamá in shath sudh'rahiń satsańgati pái, páras parasi kudhátu suhái.

(The effect of good society on a wicked person is the same as that of the philosopher's stone on a bad metal.)

arthantarnyas in hari giri dharyo satpurus bhar sahe jyoa shes (Krṣṇa carried the mountain as the good men carry the burden of responsibility and as the Sheşa serpant bears the burden of the earth.)

We leave the technicalities of these figures to the poetician. To a student of Semantics, anyhow, their emotional appeal does not present any variety or distinctive quality.

3. vii. Contrast.

Contrast is only another phase of comparison. The figures in which contrast occurs as logical factor may be classified under two headings—(A) Figures which contrast two contradictory attributes, objects or ideas, and (B) Figures of paradox in which contradiction is only apparent and not real.

A. The figures of contradiction are, generally, predominated by emphasis and emotional appeal.

Compare-

(a) INCOMPATIBILITY (vişam) in kaháń rám ke komal kar haiń kaháń kathor sharásan shiv ká. By creating this contrast, the writer intends to heighten the effect of Ráma's brave deed. It suggests that it was difficult for Ráma with such delicate hands to wield that bow, and if he could do it, it must be due to some superhuman power in him.

pran'priye tu nikat ten ananda det apar par tere hi virah ki tap karat tan char.

The truth of one statement is borne out by the other by contrast. It suggests that the presence of the beloved must be really pleasant because her absence is so killing, and separation from her must be unbearable on account of the extreme happiness derived from her

very presence.

- (b) NON-CONFORMITY (atadgum) in rakhum meli kapur men hing na hot sugandha (Even if you mix asafoetida with camphor, it will not be fragrant) is certainly more forceful than the simple statement hing men bahut durgandha hot hal.
- (c) ANTITHESIS (virodh) in mohi nipat mithi lage, vah teri katu bát. Though it is impossible to expect bitter words to be 'sweet', the emotional effect of such an expression is great.

candramukhi tum bin bhai jvalamukhi saman, The moontaced beloved, without you, is like a volcano. The suggestive meaning is clear.

vá vir'hin ko cánd'ní, lágati hai janu ghám, To the lady separated from her lover, the moonlight looks like the sunshine (on account of its scorchingly painful effect).

(d) DISCARDMENT (tiraskár) in-

biná mán taj díjiye, svargahuń sukrt samet. rahal mán tæ kíjiye, narak'huń nitya niket.

Heaven without respect is contrasted against hell with respect and the former is discarded. The suggestion is clear and impressive.

B. The paradoxical figures are figures of jugglery. They do suggest a feeling and an effect, but the veil of mystery over them qualifies the emotional appeal.

Examples-

(a) PARADOX (virodhábhás) in-

ráj'ghát par pul baúdhat jahaú kulin ki dheri áj gaye kal dekhikal ájahiú læte pheri.

Here kal at first produces confusion and obscurity. But on a closer thought it is discovered, as suggested by the incompatibility of meaning, that kal means a machine and not to-morrow.

(b) INCONGRUITY (asangati) in-

tum'ne palron par lagái mehandi, meri ánkhon men samái mehandi.

Apparently, it is absurd to talk of applying hena in eyes. But when we consider the implied sense of the words, the absurdity is at once removed. áńkhoń meń samáná is an idiom meaning 'to like'.

(c) STRANGE PARADOX (visheşokti) in rûp sudhápán se na nek'hú hui hai kam, VIII

pratyut hui hai tivra kaisi yah pyas hai.

Nectar must quench thirst, but the nectar of beauty keeps the lover's thirst ever fresh.

dekho do do nain baras'te main pyási ki pyási.

Clouds must shower water which quenches thirst. But, here two clouds (eyes) are showering water, and even then it is not possible to quench thirst.

Note that emotional appeal in visheşokti is more direct than in the other figures of paradox.

(d) CONCEPTION (vibháv'ná) in bin pad calai sunai bin káná (He walks without feet and listens without ears). Although experience shows that it is not possible for any being to walk without legs and hear without ears, the incompatability of the expression is removed when we understand the conception of God and His omnipotence.

Also compare-

kám kusum dhanu sáyak linheń sakal bhuvan ap'ne bas kinheń.

(Cupid, with his arrows of flowers, has subdued the whole universe).

4. SUGGESTIVENESS AS A FACTOR OF SEMANTIC IMPRESSIVENESS

- (i) EMOTIONALISM.
- (ii) LITERARY JUGGLERY

We have discussed at length the force of circumlocution in changing the meaning of words. Here we shall deal with the general form of suggestiveness as a means of semantic effectiveness in literature. Suggestiveness by itself is an excellence of style. The best stylist selects just a few particulars which imply the rest. Suggestiveness is an effective means of economy. That is why Syneodoche, Metonymy, Metaphor and turns of expression are considered to be the best of figures of speech. Metaphor is most important because men find more interest in catching the resemblance for themselves than in having it pointed out to them as in Simile. Kuntala recognises suggestiveness as the only quality of a figure. Every figure is, indeed, a turn of expression.

4. i. Emotionalism.

Suggestiveness is the real force, the emotional quality of style. Compare main sukumari nath ban jogú (I am delicate, Oh, and my lord is fit for forest!), by which Sita suggests that Rama is as delicate as she is. If he is going to the forest, she must not remain behind.

The suggestion of extra emotion may be conveyed by means of a large variety of figures. Compare—

(a) IRONY (vyáj'nindá) in—
hal ghúm'tá phir'tá samay tum kintú jyoń ke tyoń khare
phir bhí abhí tak ji rahe ho vír ho nishcay bare.

"You are brave on account of your stand-stillness" suggests that your attitude to life is extremely damnable. This kind of irony is more impressive than plain statement.

(b) ALLEGORY (aprastut prashańsá) in—
ab ap'ne logoń ko bas ek bár dekh lo (See your people for
the last time) which at once suggests, besides the literal meaning,
that 'your death is near'. The suggested sense is implied from the
context.

cáhe súkhá pare vishva meň haňs na pítá gaddhoň ká jal (Even if there is dearth of water, the royal swan will not drink out of a pond), the express sense of which is this: A great man should not stoop down to humility even in calamity. Here it may be noted that suggestiveness is strengthened by imagery.

(c) RHETORIC QUESTION (gurh prashna) in kyá andhe ho gaye ho? which means that your conduct is like that of a blind person. By asking kaháń gaye the? the father may simply suggest to his son that his absence from the house has been noted.

(d) DENIAL (concealment or apahauti) in durgavati sadharan stri nahin saksat durga thi i. e., Durgavati was not a woman but the goddess Durga incarnate. Here the real fact is denied and expressed metaphorically in order to enhance its effect and add on to the meaning.

(e) PERIPHRASIS (paryayokti) is one of the common figures of speech. It is employed to avoid sentimental shocks. Many of our terms for 'death', 'disease', 'copulation', 'latrine', 'madness', and other undesirable ideas and objects, as we have already noted in a previous chapter, are euphemistic. Also note how different are the

terms applicable to bigger people from those used for persons of lower status, c. g., is asan ko alankrt kijiye (adorn this seat), which simply means 'take this seat', or tash'rif le jaiye (take away your goodness) for 'go'.

- (f) THE EXALTED (udátta) in ham ve log haiń jinhoń ne yav'noń, húnoń, shakoń adi anek jatiyoń ko ap'ne andar khapá liyá, i. e., We are those people who absorbed Greeks. Huns. Sakas and many other races. This suggests the missionary grandeur and racial superiority of the Arvans.
- (g) The various hyperbolic figures are employed for their suggestive meaning, as in tácak tere dán te bhave kalpataru bhúp. Although it may not be possible for the beggars to become desiregiving trees, the suggestion that the king is very generous is clear, indeed.

cale tumháre bán dhanus se ripu sená ke prán cale (Here start your arrows, and there goes the life of the enemy) may not be literally true, yet the suggestion that the effect of his arrows is immediate, infallible and dreadful, is emphatic.

4. ii. Literary jugglery.

Such emphatic and emotional expressions are not very uncommon in colloquial and literary Hindi. Often, however, figures of suggestiveness are employed in literature to demonstrate feats of poetic jugglery rather than to depict or suggest any emotions. They are the result of too much emphasis on imagination and poetic frenzy which is far removed from realism.

Compare-

(a) EQUIVOQUE (vakrokti) in ko tum? mádhav hmá priye! nahiń vasanta soń kám.

Radha: Who are you? (knocking at the gate outside)

Krsna: It is Madhava (name of Krsna).

Radha: Then be away. I have nothing to do with spring (Mádhava).

This kind of play on words can amuse just a few intellectual persons. Otherwise, it is but a source of confusion and obscurity of meaning.

(b) CACOPHEMISM (vyájstuti) in káshipuri ki kuriti burí

jahań deh diye puni deh na páiye, i.e., If one loses his body at Káshi, it cannot be recovered, at all. Káshi, then, must be a bad place, where things lost are lost forever. But the juggler poet has, in fact, shown that Káshi is praiseworthy because a man attains salvation there.

- (c) RHETORIC REPLY (gurhottar) in kah dash'kantha, kavan talu bandar? malu raghubir-dut dash'kandhar, Hanuman is addressed as a 'monkey' and asked who he is. He replies: I am a messenger from Rama. The suggestion, that Hanuman is a worthy representative of Rama and able to accomplish a lot in spite of his being a monkey, is there but it is intelligible only to those who understand such tricks of jugglery in poetics.
 - (d) OPEN SPEECH (vivrtokti) in-

mere goras sadrsh kahuń, anat na paihm shyám. bihańsi kahyo yoń catur sakhi, lehu calm mam dhám.

One of the Gopis says to Kṛṣṇa: Nowhere will you obtain butter of the quality obtainable in my house. She wants to tempt Kṛṣṇa. Her friend, however, discloses the real motive of the Gopi by saying, "O yes, come to my house" and also suggests that she also loves Kṛṣṇa.

All this is intelligible only to a person of highly critical sense.

(c) DENIAL (apahnuti) in ye grah yah naksatra kuch nahin nabh men hans'ti hai kuch dhul, i.e., There are no planets here in the sky: These are particles of dust smiling, which is all nonsense to a man in the street.

(f) PERSONIFICATION (samásokti) in vah ap'ni áńkhoń ke mad se siác rahí hal jag phul'vári us'ke kabhí muskuráte hí hańs uth'tí hal kyári kyári.

Such a description of Nature acting like a gardener who waters the garden of life, exists in literature only.

(g) RHETORIC ENUMERATION (gam'ná) is exclusively a figure of jugglery without any practical suggestion or poetic excellence. The figure is uncommon in literary writing but it is used in astronomy to conceal a fact which has a deep and untoward effect on the person concerned. Thus us'ki áyu işushástra varşa hogi (his life is arraw-philosophy years) means that he would be 63 years of age.

In fact, the forms of literary jugglery mentioned by Indian rhetoricians are many. But they are just islets in the vast sea of Hindi language and literature.

5. VARIOUS MODES OF EXAGGERATION.

Various Modes of Exaggeration.

Dandin believes that hyperbole is the basis of all figures of speech. In fact, all imaginative literature, all imaginative art—poetry, painting, music, sculpture—seems to be a process of veiling reality, a softening of the harshness and asperity of the phenomena of life, a suffusing the bare trunk with the light that never was on sea or land,—an exaggeration.

To imagine that a face is the moon (or even that it is like the moon), or that a foot is a lotus, whether this imagination is expressed as a doubt, mistake, confusion or certainty, is exaggeration, indeed. All simile or metaphor is, indeed, a hyperbolic expression.

The figures of Circumlocution are all hyperbolic. To call a bad person good (vyáj'nindá) and a good person bad (vyáj'stuti), to conceal the truth (Euphemism and vyájokti), to deny a fact (apahnuti), to personify or animalize objects (samásokti), etc., are just so many modes of exaggeration.

The figures of Contrast are generally based on hyperbole and false imagination. To imagine things that are contrary to experience (vibháv'ná), to think of contradictions where there are none (Paradox), to find similarity in diversity or agreeability in incompatibility (virodh), etc., are various types of exaggeration.

It is interesting to note the various levels of hyperbole in the above categories. Hyperbole is more prominent in metaphor than in circumlocution, and much more still in contrast. Besides these, there are figures of speech mithyádhyavasati, atishayokti (Exaggeration) and atyukti, in which hyperbole is most striking. It may be noticed that the quality of hyperbole varies with the quality of sentiment and meaning. It is more effective in depicting a sentiment of bravery or a hard feeling than any delicate idea. Compare—

- is bhavan ke shikhar ákásh ko chúte haiá (The tops of this building touch the sky);
- or, prán chutal prath'mal ripu kal raghunáyak sáyak chút na páye (Before the arrows of Ráma could shoot, the life of the enemy was out);
- or, jasu tras dar kahan dar hoi (Even Fear is afraid of him).

A hackneyed hyperbole always loses its effect, as atyanta sundar (lit. limitlessly beautiful), means only very beautiful; iákhoń ád'mí (millions of men) may just come to imply hundreds of men; malá márá gayá (lit. I am killed), I am in trouble.

6. MODES OF IMPRESSIVENESS IN FOLK LANGUAGE.

6. Modes of Impressiveness in Folk Language.

Rhetoricians have tried to analyse all types of expression from the simplest statement to the most exaggerated and circumlocutionary form of imagination. A literary juggler employs 1001 modes of expressing his ideas, his constant worry being to present them in the most beautiful and meaningful form. That is why poetry is more figurative than prose and literature more figurative than colloquial language.

Much is known about the types of figures used in Hindi literature. It would be interesting to find the main trends of the figurative language in folk literature.

A study of the Hindi folk-songs shows that Analogy plays the most important part in popular poetry as well as in poetic literature. Compare—

ab kí bár jo hari mor aihain, hiy'rá ke khulihain kapát.

If my lover comes this time, the doors of my heart would open. birah bitha tan larat ban.

The arrows of separation strike my body.

pus más ghan pare tusár, rain calai jas kharag ki dhár.

The December night is cold and bitingly sharp like a sword. biná prem ke manuj'vá jas andhiyárí rát.

The heart without love is like dark night.

í dehiyáń taruvar kí chahiyáń.

This body is the shade of a tree.

Metaphor, Simile and Poetic Fancy are common. Instances of Poetic Mistake, Rhetoric Certainty, Illustration, Parallel, Exemplification are, however, rare. Contrast is used to create emotional effect and pathos, as in—

cári mandil cári díp baral ham'rá akel baral.

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In each of the houses all around are burning four lamps. But in mine there is only one.

ghar div'lá lesahiń nar nári, meri ayodhyá pari ańdhyári.

People light lamps in their houses (on Diwali), but my Ayodhyá is all dark.

Of the figures of suggestiveness, Euphemism is used but sparingly.

sir ke senukhá daiv har le jáy.

God has removed the mark of vermilion from her head, i.e., she has become widow.

ham're karam'ván mán ihai likhat hai sejariyá má soun akeli.

I am doomed to sleep alone, which suggests that 'my husband is impotent'.

Exaggeration, Personification and Concretion are also employed.

Examples-

ek karalli ham bová, are karalli pas'ri babalya jiu ke des.

I grew a creeper which spread to the land of my father.

i dukh bándhm bhaiyá ap'ni gathariyá.

Pack this calamity in your bundle. már dárain katili tor ankhiyán.

Your sharp eyes kill me.

In this connection also note that exactly the same important figures have determined the formation and values of popular idioms. The roll of euphony in folk-songs is negligible.

The employment of a figure is a question of propriety. A figure by itself has no virtue. It has to be relevant, helpful to develope a sentiment, and never an overgrowth hindering or making hideous the composition. Figures must agree with the mood and atmosphere of the sentiment. Even Metaphor would be appreciated only at times. Sometimes circumlocution would be most appropriate as in satire. A good figure of speech must lie consistent, and a good writer must select such figures as appeal to the emotional experience of everybody. If they demonstrate mere poetic jugglery and no emotion, it is better to discard them in favour of a simple, plain and direct composition. A pearl-garland can beautify only a full bosom, otherwise it cannot be a beautifying factor. Figures of speech without emotional appeal or suggestiveness and figures of speech in places which do not need them, are bad.





SEMATOLOGY OF GRAMMAR

1. FORM AND MEANING.

1. Form and Meaning.

It is a well-known fact that Grammar is mainly concerned with the formal aspect of language. But we must note that the form of a word, in a semi-grammatical and analytical language like Hindi, does not help to distinguish its function or meaning in the sentence. No word has a fixed meaning independent of the context. If we attempt to distinguish the parts of speech on the basis of form, we meet immediately with serious difficulties. This is true in all old languages in which there has been a large-scale phonetic decay, Chinese being an extreme case. Hindi shows no distinction of form between a large number of substantives and verbs, or between certain substantives and adjectives. Only the context can determine which is which.

Examples-

khel, play, bol, speak, speech, bhúl, forget, mistake. bare, big, big people, dalit, depressed, depressed classes. márkha, fool, foolish.

acchá may be an adjective, meaning 'good', an adverb meaning 'well', or an interjection meaning 'very well, all right'. It may

express delight, approval, surprise or disappointment. There is nothing in the form of sur to show that it is a noun, pronoun, adjective or conjunction. It may mean 'others', 'another', 'more', 'else' or 'and', according as it functions in the context. Similarly, it is not the form but the meaning of age as determined by the connected words in the following examples which makes it noun, adverb or postposition—

rájá ne bráhman ko áge se liyá (The king received the priest from the advance); áge calo (Go forward), and makán ke áge (Before the house).

That grammatical form alone is not the meaningful element of a word or sentence may be further explained by the following instances:

- (i) lar'kiyan and lar'kiyen (girls) have the same meaning.
- (ii) thandi ag (cold fire) and garam barfa (hot ice) are correct in form but absurd in meaning.
- (iii) kyon nahin (why not) is negative and interrogative in form but it means a positive 'yes'.
- (iv) mem sáhib, lady, chotá strí (the little woman), ham játá hal (I go) and mere ko (to me) are grammatically wrong but semantically quite sound and correct and popular, too.

The classification of words into parts of speech has a semantic rather than a grammatical importance. Parts of speech, as such, are not forms but values of the words. Compare the definitions below—

Noun is the name of a person, place, thing or quality. Adjective is a word that describes a noun. A verb denotes doing, being or happening, or as the Danish term "Udsagnsord" or the Sanskrit akhyat suggests, it describes the state (of a noun) fully. An adverb is an additional word that describes. Conjunctions join two consecutive periods—words, clauses or sentences—and so on.

The sub-classes of nouns, pronouns, adjectives, verbs and other parts of speech are also named not after their form, but according to their signification in a sentence.

Though particular words tend to be particular parts of speech such as nouns, adjectives, adverbs, verbs and so on, there is no rigid classification in practice. The same word may be a noun, an adjective, an adverb, a postposition or a verb according as it stands in semantic relation to other words in the sentence.

The use of a word, originally belonging to one part of speech, as a different part of speech is an important cause of semantic change. This would be illustrated at length in the following pages.

- 2. THE NOUN.
 - (i) SUBSTANTIVIZATIONS.
 - (ii) CHANGE OF SEMANTIC FUNCTION.
 - (iii) Kinds of Nouns.

2. i. Substantivizations.

It is very well known that the noun may also be signified by any other parts of speech. Here it is desired to bring out the semantic aspects of these substantivizations. Compare the change of meaning in the following—

(a) Pronouns-

maiń (I), ego, pride, in is 'maiń' ko máro.
tú (thou), an address of inferiority, in 'tú' se dús'roń ká jí
dukh'tá hai.

to to main main (thou and I) = bickering.

(b) Adjectives-

bhúkhá (hungry), a hungry person, in bhúkhe ko anna do. mar'tá (dying), a dying man, in mar'tá kyá na kar'tá.

(c) Adverbs-

vahán (there), that place, in vahán ká kyá kah'ná! báhar bhítar, exterior and interior self, in jis'ká báhar bhítar ek sá hal.

(d) Interjections-

háy-háy, cry of pain, in yah háy-háy kyá lagá rakhí

váh váh, appreciation, in tum to váh váh ke bhúkhe ho.

(e) Verbs-

khel, game, fun, in áj ká khel samápta ho gayároná, cries, in tumheá roná hí acchá lag'tá hal.

(f) Quotation-

phir, the word 'phir', in tumháre lekh men kai bár phir ává hai.

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2. ii. Change of Semantic Function.

Conversely, the noun itself may semantically function as any other part of speech and thus change its original meaning.

(a) As a pronoun in-

log kah'te hain, log means they. ghar ke log stands for women.

shriman, maharaj, sar'kar mean 'he' or 'you'.

(b) As an adjective-

bhalá mánas ád'mi (lit. a genlteman person), a good man. gadhá, foolish, and suar, wicked.

jeb in jeb ghari, pocket watch.

káth in káth ghar, woodhouse, and katah'rá, a paliscade (Skt. kásthagrham).

Nouns like jorá (couple) and korí (cowrie) are used as numeral adjectives 'two' and 'twenty'. Compare gandá (in Bihar and the Punjab) = 4, and dar'jan (Eng. dozen) in NIA = 12.

(c) As a Verb-

jáne válá, goer, but rám jáne válá thá means Ráma was about to go.

(d) As an adverb-

In turn meri madad patthar karoge? and vah ap'ná sir parh'tá hai, patthar, stone, and sir, head, mean 'not', 'at all'.

(e) As Postpositions—

Skt. párshva, side, > pás, near, ghar ke pás, near the house, cf. Beng. páshe, Punj. páse; Skt. tale, on the surface, in ghar ke tale, below the house; Per. taraf, side, in us'ki taraf towards him; Skt. antar, duration, in atrántar, after that. Compare Beng. tare, for, from Skt. antare; also Beng. bhite, towards, from Skt. bhitti, wall.

2. iii. Kinds of Nouns.

A noun of one class may change into a noun of another class. Rama is the name of a god. But persons named Ram'prasad, Ram'lal, Ramanand, Ram'sahay, Ram'nath, Ram'das and Rambharose and even Nand'ram, Shantaram are called simply Ram.

Káshi, Jamuná, and Gangá can be the names of places, ladies, cows and even men. Similarly names of persons may be used for places, as badrínáth, (Badrinath), kedár'náth (Kedarnath), both in Garhwal, amas'náth, (Amarnath in Kashmir), etc.

A proper noun, however, is least significant and, therefore, least liable to change. A common noun is more meaningful than a proper noun. magar (city) and márí (woman) have a greater difference in signification than Prayag and Varanasi. Semantic change in common nouns is common. They may become proper nouns (as purí, town, for Jagannath Puri, gaágá, river, for the Ganges), they may change into collective nouns (as Skt. lokah, world, > log, men)* or they may become abstract nouns (as dhárá 'current', section, clause).

Similarly the concretion of abstract nouns makes them common (as dev'tá, god, jan'tá, public), they may become material nouns (as Skt. suvarna, good colour, > soná, gold, Skt. candriká, moonlight, > cándí, silver), or they may signify proper names (as kál, time, for death), bhásá, language, for Hindi, lajjá, shyness, for Lajjawati).

For more details and examples see the chapter on Important Variations.

3. THE PRONOUN.

- (i) PERSONAL PRONOUNS.
- (ii) Interrogative Pronouns.
- (iii) INDEFINITE PRONOUNS.

3. i. Personal Pronoun.

The number of pronouns is not large. Of the personal pronouns we have vah, yah, he, ve, ye, they, main, I, ham, we, tu, thou, tum, you, and ap, you (honorific). vah and yah are also demonstrative pronouns. ap is also a reflexive pronoun.

koi, any, is an Indefinite Pronoun. Hindi has a semantic

^{*}Also note mrg'log in the Ram'carit Manas. Cf. Skt. varga and Beng. sakal, guli.

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advantage over English in possessing a separate Interrogative Pronoun kuma and a Relative jo, whereas English "who" has to answer for both.

On the other hand, Hindi possesses no personal pronouns for the third person. vah is simply 'that (one)' and yah, 'this (one)'. They are, in fact, remote and near demonstrative pronouns changed into personal. The loss of so, takin, tis for the third person is regrettable semantically. Compare Skt. tat side by side with etat, this, idam, this, and adas, that. There is also ambiguity attached to the signification of vah and yah. They may mean he, she or it. It is only literary Hindi which has evolved the plural forms ye and ve for 'they.' Colloquial Hindi has yih and voh which mean this, these, he, she, it, they, that, those.

Another semantic peculiarity of Hindi pronouns is that plural may also signify singular. Examples—

hamári samajh meń, in my judgment.

ham jáyá'ge, I will go.

áp'ká ghar, thy house.

tum kahán the?, Where wast thou?

ve cár baje mileáge, he (honorific) will be available at four. ye mere mitra haiń, he (honorific) is a friend of mine.

This incidence also creates confusion, so much so that at times the pronouns have to be supplemented with the word log to indicate the plural, as in ham log, we people, áp logoá ko, to you people, tum log, you, especially when even the context fails to show whether the singular or the plural is meant.

main, I, and ham, we, are pronouns of the first person. ham used for singular, shows authority, as in ham kah'te hain (we say—I order), pride, as in ham leke hatenge (we shall not move without taking it—I can take it), or authorship, as in ham ne likhn hai, the author has said it before.

In the Prem-ságar and the Rám'carit'mánas, for instance, main and ham, are indiscriminately used, sometimes both in the same context. Literary or puritan Hindi does make distinction, but the force of usage is great.

Even in modern literature we find such constructions as-

vah thah'rá take ká maj'dúr, maiá ek bará af'sar, hamárá sar ús'ká kyá jor (Premchand in "gulli dandá"); or abhí tak maiá ap'ne ko bhái se alag samajh'tá thá lekin ab málám huá ki bhái ham se alag na the (Shivráni Devi in "vimátá").

The first person is also denoted by nouns in the third person as in ab ap'ne ram jane vale hain, Now I am about to go, dev datta it'na murkha mahin jo...Deva Dutta (I) is not such a fool as..., das ki vinay, the request of your servant (mine).

For the second person, Hindi has three pronouns, tú, tum and áp (honorific). tú, on the one hand, shows contempt, and on the other hand kindliness, affection and even devotion. tum also indicates the latter meanings. Compare tú kartavyahín hal, besharam hal (Shivrani) and tum gadhe náláyak (Premchand), or he prabhu, teri dayá, and he prabhu, tum hí bacá lo. Generally speaking, tú and tum are both slipshod and lacking in reverence. tum indicates greater equality and familiarity. It is used to mean a singular as well as a plural.

ap shows equality, subordination or superiority, but always respect for the person addressed. It may denote a single person or many persons like tum. Besides its principal meaning, ap also refers to a third person (already mentioned or present) or to another person not present. Thus it causes ambiguity as in ap'ka kah'na would more commonly mean: What you say. But it also may mean: What he says. In ram'nath Dilli ke rah'ne vale the, ap'ka janma 1905 men hua, ap means 'he'.

But it has four meanings in log áp'ká vishes ádar kar'te hain-

- (1) People render special respect to you (many).
- (2) People render special respect to you (one).
- (3) People render special respect to him.
- (4) People render special respect to them.

Note that the Skt. bhavat, atrabhavat, tatrabhavat are semantically more distinct and serviceable. And they have distinct plural forms, too.

It may also be noted that ap is originally reflexive in Sanskrit atman. The change of meaning in Hindi is remarkable.

áp is not available in dialectical Hindi.

Some nouns in third person also denote turn or ap as in mujhe harar (shriman sar'kar) ke darshanoa ki lal'sa thi, I had a wish to see you, or sar'kar to pah'le hi sahin the, i.e. you were even then intelligent (Premchand's "gulli danda").

The pronouns in third person may mean-

(a) an adjective, as in vah ghar gir'ta hai, that house falls;

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- (b) a pronoun, as in vah ghar girata hai, He fells the house;
- (c) an adverb, as in lijie, yah main cala, Lo, here or now I go, or so kya hua? What happened then?
- (d) a conjunction, as in main bimár hún so yah kám tumhín kar dálo, I am ill, therefore you do this work.

3. ii. Interrogative Pronouns kunn and kyá.

LEGON (who, which) may be applied both to persons and to things. When used substantively (as a pronoun), it refers to persons only, as in—

kunn ján'tá hai, Who knows?

yah kis'ka lar'ka hai, Whose son is it?

Note the contemptuous sense in rok'ne vale turn kann ho? Who are you to stop me?

When used adjectively it means what, which, what sort of person or thing. Examples—

kann manuşya alsá kar'tá hai. What man does so ? kann kám kar'ne anr kann na kar'ne yogya hai — which

work is fit to be done and which is not?

yah kann stri hal? = What sort of woman is this? 'What sort of' is usually expressed by kann sá as in-

vah kann si bhásá bol'tá hai? What sort of language does he speak?

The word has also the force of adverbial negativization, when the interrogative sense is absent, as in—

kann jane? No one knows?

áp'ko satsang kunn dúr hal? Good company is not away from you.

kunn has also the meaning of the Relative jo, as in-

kann gayá ho anr kin-kin logoń ke pás gayá ho, yah koi nahiń ján'tá, who may have gone and to what persons, is known to nobody.

kyá is more indefinite and groups things while kann individualizes. Compare kann as an adjective in—

vah kunn pustak hai? What book is this?

yah kyá pustak hai, rather suggests: What class of literature does this book belong to?

3. Hi.

As a pronoun, it usually denotes things and animals, as yah kann hai? Who is this? and, yah kyá hai? What is this?

The following changes in the meaning of the word are due to its use as a different part of speech—

Adv. ghorá kyá dzurá havá ho gayá, kyá=how well.

hińsak jív mujhe kyá márcágo, kyá=why. sipáhí vaháń kyá já rahá hal, kyá=really!

Conj. kyá stri, kyá purus - whether men or women.

kvá also denotes several moods, as-

Question, in kyá ve áveáge? Will they come?

Negation, in kyá málúm? We don't know.

Surprise, in váh, kyá kah'ná, Bravo.

Threat, in turn kyá sam'jhe baithe ho, lit. What do you think of yourself?

Confirmation, in áp kyá vaháň jácňge? Will you really go there?

3. iii. Indefinite Pronouns koi and kuch.

koi (any) < Skt. koapi has the sense of 'indescribable'.

When used as a pronoun, it refers generally to persons and occasionally to things. Examples—

koi hai? Is there any one? koi kaise ján sak'tá hai, how can any one know? koi nahiń, none, as koi kuch nahiń kah'tá, no one says anything, lit. anyone does not say something.

koi originally means 'any'. But compare sab koi ap'ni barái cáh'te hain, all (persons) or every one, koi já rahá hai, some one is going. In koi ap'ne desh men rahe koi par'desh, koi = one, mere ghar koi áye hain, koi = some people.

kuch < Skt. kashcit originally means "a certain", "some", or "a part", as in kuch láo, bring some (thing) or a part.

Compare the other meanings of the pronominal kuch. In ham sab kuch ján'te halá, sab kuch = everything.

kuch always conveys, more or less distinctly, a partitive sense.

Followed by a negative, kod means 'no one' and kuch 'nothing', as in kisi ne use dekhá nahía, no one saw him, but kuch bh' nahía, nothing at all.

When used adjectively, either may denote both persons and things

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and retain its original meaning.

kei lay'ka, any boy, kei ghar, any house.

kuch lar'ke, some boys, kuch jal, some water.

As an adverb koi as well as kuch undergoes various semantic changes. Examples—

koi = about, in is men koi 400 pretha hain, it has about 400 pages.

kuch = slightly, in táp kuch ghatá yá nahíń, is the temperature slightly low or not?

kuch choti hai, is a bit small, kuch burá lagá, felt a little ill; etc.

In merá hál kuch na púch, kuch = at all; and in lar'ká bahut kuch dzur'tá hal, kuch = sufficiently.

4. THE ADJECTIVE.

- (i) ATTRIBUTIVE ADJECTIVES.
- (ii) PREDICATIVE ADJECTIVES.
- (iii) Adjective Equivalents.
- (iv) SUBSTANTIVIZATION OF ADJECTIVES.
- (v) CONTEXTUAL CHANGE.
- (vi) Pronominal Adjectives of Quality.
- (vii) PRONOMINAL ADJECTIVES OF QUANTITY.
- (viii) NUMERALS.

4. i. Attributive Adjectives.

Used attributively adjectives have fourfold effect on the nouns.

(a) They distinguish one person or thing or one group of persons or things from others of the same class, as—

iál ghorá, red horse, míthá pání, sweet water, chote saksená sáhab, younger Saxena.

- (b) They restrict the meaning of nouns, as in merá ghar, my house, krana sarpa, cobra, havái jaháj, air-ship.
- (c) They are classifying, as in pahari log, hill people, uttari bharat, northern India, tis'ri shrepi, third class.
- (d) They give some secondary information as in dayaln ishvar, merciful God, sati sita, the chaste Sita, pratapi bhoj, the glorious

Bhoja, pavitra gaágá, the holy Ganges, mák pashu, mute animals, abodh bálak, innocent child, kálá kauvá, black crow. In such cases the adjectives are used for suggestiveness and emphasis.

Note that the above meanings are available even when adjectives qualify proper nouns.

4. ii. Predicative Adjectives.

Used predicatively, they express a quality or state of persons or things.

main ne sam'jha vah murkha hal, I thought he is foolish. vah sabha mrt'pray hal, that society is practically dead.

In effect, the predicative adjective is an adverb. It appears like an adjective only with the auxiliary verb home, to be.

4. iii. Adjective Equivalents.

Sometimes, other parts of speech have the same adjectival meaning as we have considered above.

- Nouns (in apposition), as in vakil ram'nath, Vakil Ramnath, us'ki man vidh'va hal, his mother is widow.
- 2. Pronouns, as in merá ghar, my house, vah rájá, that king, koi stri, some woman, killa log, what people.
- 3. Verbs, rarely, as bhar, fill, in ser bhar, about a seer, rát bhar, the whole night.
- 4. Adverbs, quite rarely, as keval, only, in keval striyáá, only women, keval ham, only we.

4. iv. Substantivization of Adjectives.

Substantivization of adjectives is an important cause of meaning-change (see "Concretion" p. 227).

As a rule this substantivization is due to ellipsis.

sacce=sacce manuşya, the truthful, burá buroá se vair na kare, a bad person should do no evil to bad men.

sab kah'te hain, all say, sab = sab log, all people, caron, the

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four, lákhoá yá saik'roá, hundreds and thousands of men. thaude thaude (mussam men). in cold (season).

Substantivization is the sign of more specific classification as acchon, the good (oblique), baron, the elderly people, din, wretched, patit, the depressed, abhiyukta, the accused, are restricted to persons, showing their social position or state. So also burha, an old man, burhiya, an old lady, pandit, a learned person, bhag'van, the fortunate personality, sundari, a beautiful woman.

gore, whites, kale, blacks, denote race.

cini, Chinese, hindustani, Indian, desi, native, etc. refer to race as well as language.

sansakrt, ang'reji are limited to languages.

bah'rá (deaf), gungá (dumb), ganjá (bald), lang'rá (lame) show physical deformity of persons and animals.

priya (pi) (dear), mah'tar (chief), pitam (lover) denote personal relations.

4. v. Contextual Change.

Adjectives may take other meanings according as their settings change. Examples—

As pronouns, in ek baithá thá dús'rá khará thá, one was sitting, the other was standing, ek = one man, dús'rá = the other person; jalsá karoge valsá bharoge, as you sow, so shall you reap, jalsá = jalsá kám, and valsá = valsá kám.

As adverbs, in ham thore lar'te haln, we do not quarrel; vah udás balthá hal, udás = in a sad mood; mrg'chane kalse nidharak car rahe haln, nidharak = fearlessly; shatru barábar barh'tá calá á rahá hal, barábar = continuously.

Punjabi is especially fond of such a usage. Punj. uccá uth, rise up, but H. unce utho, Punj. jhikká ho, but H. nice ho, bend. down.

As Postpositions—

ul'tá, opposite, in tápá ká ul'tá jhíl hal, the opposite of island is lake.

pah'le, first, in jane se pah'le, before going.

yogya, fit, in mere yogya koi sevá, any service for me.

barábar, equal, in lag'ká ád'mí ke barábar dzīgá, the boy ran with the man.

4. vi. Pronominal Adjectives of Quality.

aisá, jaisá, vaisá, kaisá, as adjectives of quality, denote likeness, as in—

kaisa ad'mi, what sort of a man.

jalsá kám valsá dám, Like work, like money.

aisi bat, such a thing, vaisa ghar, that kind of house.

Note how aisa and jaisa become identical in meaning in yah ap jaise (aise) ad'miyon ka kam hai, this is the job of people like you.

The same meaning is found in their use as pronouns.

aisa kab ho sak'ta hai? How is this (lit. this like) possible? jaisa karoge valsa bharoge, as like you do, so like you gain.

They have special signification in alsi valsi stri, a commonplace woman, alsa valsa, ordinary, alsi valsi bat, such an unmentionable thing, alsa bhi kya hai, there is nothing extra-ordinary about it.

When these words are used as adverbs, the idea of manner or method is more prominent than that of resemblance. Compare—

kaisá kám kiyá jáy (adj.), kám kaise kiyá jáy (adv.) jalse ko taisá (pron.), jaise kaho vaise kiyá jáy'gá (adv.)

Note also the signification of aisa (or aise) baitha hun, I am doing nothing particular.

sá is the abridged form of alsá. Compare tumháre alsá manusya and tum sá manusya = lit. you like man (a person like you).

The variety of meanings in så is remarkable. It converts nouns to the meaning of adjectives showing likeness, as in citra si nári = a picture-like woman, áp se pavitra, holy as you (lit. you-like holy), táp sá, feverish, dhuán sá, something like smoke.

It also denotes a shade of indefiniteness.

With adjectives, it has an accessary idea of 'a lesser degree of quality' as in English '-ish', as, jvar-sá, feverish, níli si ciriyá, a bluish bird.

It adds intensity to adjectives which already denote 'a lesser degree of quality'.

theri si roti, a very small quantity of bread.

chori si lar'ki, a very small girl.

With verbs, it shows indefiniteness of action, as in rang mit sá gayá hai, the colour is almost gone, hans'tá sá lagá, looked

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almost smiling.

Note that in these usages sa cannot be replaced by aisa.

4. vii. Pronominal adjectives of Quantity.

There is nothing semantically peculiar about pronominal adjectives of quantity. But note the difference of meaning in the following usages:

- (a) As adjectives, they denote quantity when used in singular and number when used in plural—it'ná dúdh, so much milk, but it'ne ád'mi, so many men; it'ní bát, so much matter, or so important, as in it'ní bát na thí, it was not such an important thing, but it'ní báten, so many things.
- (b) As pronouns, they have elliptical meaning-suggestion, as in it'ne meń, in the meanwhile (time), kit'ne meń, at how much (price), ve it'ne se the, he was only so much (in size).
- (c) As adverbs, they denote 'excess' and add an idea of quantity to quality—kit'ná acchá lar'ká hai, how good the boy is, it'ná chotí lar'kí, so little a girl!

4. viii. Numerals.

Of the numerals, ek (one) has quite a large number of meanings, as in-

ek din aisá áyegá (some such day will come).

ek sath (all at once, together).

ek aye, ek gaye (several people came and several have gone). kai ek (many, of various kinds).

ek tumháre hí dukh se dukhí haiń (only by your trouble are we miscrable).

das ek, san ek (about ten, about a hundred).

donoń ká ek rúp hal (both are alike).

The other numerals have no peculiar semantics.

The indefiniteness of number is denoted in the combinations of numerals, as—

ek ádh, a few, do cár, two or four (a few), das ek (about ten), etc.

dodo, tin-tin, two cach, three each, do-do kar'ke, tin-tin kar'ke, two by two, three by three, etc. are idiomatic usages in Hindi.

Compare the difference in the meaning of dis'rá din (second day) and dis're din (next day). dis're din, tis're din, etc. also make adverbs meaning 'on the second day', 'on the third day', etc.

5. THE ADVERB.

- (i) ADVERBIALIZATION.
- (ii) CONTEXTUAL CHANGES OF MEANING.

The adverb as used in Hindi covers more than its name significs. háń, yes, and nahíń, no, yaháń, here, vaháń, there, ab, now, kab, when, for example, do not appear in any special manner to qualify the verb. Yet these and many other adverbs do furnish information closely connected with that which the verb conveys.

5. i. Adverbialization.

Adverbial meaning may be derived from several parts of speech:

(a) Nouns, as in-

pás, near, derived from Skt. párshva, side, in gánv pás hal, the village is near, mere pás áo, come towards me (adverb of place), diválí pás á gaí, the Dewali came up (adverb of time).

nishcay (belief), certainly, in main is kam ko nishcay nahin kar sak'ta, I cannot, of course, do it.

sac, truth = truly, in sac kaho.

patthar, stone = never, in turn patthar ján'te ho, you do not know at all.

In this connection may also be noted adverbial phrases which are simple nouns in some case. Nouns in instrumental and ablative cases are most common, as krodh se, angrily, kis prakár se, how, namratá se, gently, ánamda se, well, happily. Nouns in locative case are also available, as anta men, finally, vástav men, truly, áge, in front, páche, behind, pah'le, first, etc. There are many adverbs which have come down from such Sanskrit forms as tale,

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down, akále, early. Compare Sindhi mathe, upon; Beng. ekhane (this moment), now; Punj. ethe (at this place), here, etc. Nouns in accusative, used as adverbs, are comparatively few, as ek din, on a certain day, us samay, at that time.

(b) Adjectives, as in acchá, well, vah acchá gátí hal, she sings well. tez, rapid, vah tez dunrá, he ran fast. thik, right, áp'ne thik kahá, you said rightly. bará, big, bará acchá ád'mi hal, he is a very good man. nissandeh, doubtless, vah nissandeh soyá huá hal, he is doubtlessly asleep.

(c) Pronouns, as in—

kuch, some, vah kuch acchá hal, he is slightly better.

kyá (what) how, malá use kyá sam'jháúá, how should I

tell him!

(d) Verbs (rarely), as in—

phir, move, phir kyá huá? What happened then?

cáhe, wished, cáhe jo ho, whatsoever may happen.

bhar, fill, pyári ne áńkheń bhar kar kahá, the beloved said with eyes full of tears.

áp'ke áne bhar ki der hai, waiting just for your arrival.

Participles and conjunctive verbs also mean adverbs, as rote-rote so gayá, the child went to sleep, weeping; khá kar so gayá, went to sleep after taking meals, etc.

(e) Note how postpositions and adverbs exchange meaning. In is ke nice kyá hal? nice = under, vah nice girá, nice = down; áge calo, áge = forward, ghar ke áge, áge = in front of.

5. ii. Contextual Changes of Meaning.

The semantic changes in the various uses of adverbs may be noted in the following examples—

(1) yahán in nækar yahán rah'tá hai means 'here' or 'this place'; jahán tak ho sake, so far as possible; kahán tak (ginánh) how far; nækar bhái ke yahán rah'tá hai, yahán means 'at' (postposition); yahán tak ki, so much so that (conjunction).

(2) The changes in the meaning of kahin are interesting. It generally means 'anywhere', or 'somewhere'. But in mujh se vah

kahiń sukhi hai, kahiń means 'much more', kahiń hańsi na ho, kahiń means 'I fear', and patthar bhi kahiń pasij'te halá? kahiń means 'eyer'.

In the last example it becomes an adverb of time.

Note the suggestiveness of kahán in kahán rájá bhoj kahán gangá tell, there is a great difference between Bhoja, the King, and Gangu, the oil-presser; maln kahán já sakítá hán, I cannot go.

(3) kab is an adverb of time and means 'when', as in mankar kab ayega, when will the servant come? kab tak = how long.

jab and tab are identical in meaning in ap yah karen tab (jab) main bhi janun, do this then I may also realize.

to is derived from tab and has the same meaning as in to kyá huá, what happened then? But it specializes in such expressions as in yah to kisi ne dekhá hi nahín, to means 'of course' and in khá to lo, to has the sense of 'just'.

(4) The postpositional adverbs are used for time as well as place. Examples—

gánv pás hal, the village is near (in distance), diválí pás hal, the Diwali is near (in time).

úpar baitho, sit up (above or on), ek mahíná úpar ho gayá, it is over a month, úpar se us'ká patra áyá, after that came his letter.

áge calo, go forward, áge dekhá jáy'gá, it will be seen in the future, áge dekh, see in front, áge bhí áp ko kahá thá, I had told you even before.

Note how age and piche become identical in meaning in-

áge dekhá jáy'gá, píche dekhá jáy'gá, we shall see to it afterwards.

(5) hi is an intensive adverbial particle, added to many, if not all, words of all parts of speech. It has the meaning of 'just' or 'definitely', or 'even'.

rám hí á jáye, just Ráma may come up. játá hí thá, I was just going. mujhí se púch lete, you could ask even me. abhí (ab hí), just now, kahíá (kaháń hí), anywhere.

accha hi hua, it was, of course, good.

ghar ke pas hi, definitely close to the house.

cáhe rám hi he, even if it be Ráma.

It singles out and restricts the word which it qualifies, as-

rám hí á jáye, it suggests exclusion of other persons.

acchá hí huá at once suggests that it was anyhow not bad.

mujhi se púch lete i.e. if you could not ask anybody else,
you could at least ask me.

At times it only emphasizes the meaning of the previous words, as vah hal hi nahin, he is not here.

mujhi ko mároge? Will you strike ms.

The meanings of the following adverbial phrases are noteworthy: valse hi, in the same manner, in valse hi kar lo. valse hi, by chance, in ye kitábeń valse hi mil gaiń. yoń hi, uselessly, yoń hi pheńk diyá. kyoń nahiń, yes, certainly.

POSTPOSITIONS.

- (i) SEMANTIC VARIATIONS.
- (ii) Nouns and Verbs as Postpositions.
- (iii) ADVERBIAL POSTPOSITIONS.
- (iv) Postpositions understood.

Dr. Kellogg has pointed out that many of the Hindi postpositions were originally nouns. It is not our concern here to trace the origin of each of these forms. Semantically, postpositions are the result of the law of specialization. They have now rid themselves of their original meaning in order to become suggestive rather than significative. They are not mere grammatical instruments: They have a strong effect on the relation of words and their meanings.

6. i. Semantic Variations.

We shall take some of the most important postpositions the meanings of which have changed violently and covered a large variety of relationships.

ke shows the accusative case in yah patra us'ke bhej de, send this letter to him. It relates to the object proper. It is used for the accusative of place in vah ghar ke gayá, he went towards his house, and for the accusative of time in rát ke, at night, shám

ko, in the evening. It signifies the dative of purpose in vah mahane ko gaya, he went for bathing, the dative of recipient in bacce ko am do, give mangoes to the child, and the dative of possession or acquisition in vidvanon ko itihas ka prem tha, the scholars had love for history.

In Braj, ko stands for the possessive ká, of. The same meaning is implied in the adverbial phrases un'ko gaye hue das din bit gaye, ten days have passed since his departure, becare ko sári rát tarap'te biti, the poor man had the whole night passed in distress, in standard Hindi.

The following are the peculiar usages of ko in Hindi—tum ko citthi mili, you received the letter; bálak ko yah pustak parh'ni cáhiye, the boy should read this book; mujhe kháná kháná hal, I have to take meals; pustak parh'ne ko man kar'tá hal, lit. the mind likes to read the book; rám ko krodh á gayá, Ráma got angry, tum ko kyá cintá hal, what worry have you? mujh ko gáná átá hal, I know singing.

se is another (adverbial) postposition which has a variety of meanings, as distance in atak se katak (from Attock to Cuttack), instrument in hrday se dayálu (tender by heart), difference in yah kap'rá us se alag hai (this cloth is different from that), object in rám se púchá (asked Ráma), source in khán se cáúdí nikal'tí hai (silver is obtained out of a mine), agent in guru se shiksá páí (received education from a teacher), accompaniment in sab se mel rakho, (keep friendship with all), continuance in bahut dinoú se (since many days), duration in tín din se (for three days), cause in úp'ke darshanoú se (on account of seeing you), relationship in us'ko buláne se kyá kám (what is the use of calling him), comparison in mujh se baph'kar (better than me), etc.

On account of certain verbs, se is used accusatively, as in rám ne mujh'se kahá or púchá, Ráma said to, asked, me.

It has the adverbial sense as denoted by Eng. -ly in **dhyán se**, (attentively), **shraddhá se** (devotedly), **man se** (heartily), etc.

se is pleonastic in dhire se (slowly).

This se is different from -se 'like' in ram-se putra (a son like Rama), the latter having been derived from size.

men = in (place), in ghar men; through, in ban men; inside,

in skul men, ghar men; among, in striyon men padmini; by, in báton men arana; between, in bhái bhái men; for, in do ane men : within, in ek ghante men.

par = on, in khát par ; above, in chat par ; at, in dúrí par ; in, in ghar par; towards, in is prashna par dhyán do; on the bank of, in talab par ; for, in do rupaye par iman kho diya; on account of, in mere bol'ne par ; after, in bap par gaya hai; in spite of, in sam'ihane par bhi.

tak = upto (distance), in banáras tak; to, in bálak se vrddha tak; upto (limit), in das rupaye tak; at all (adverbial), in us'ne dekhá tak nahín ; even, in hindi tak nahín ján'tá.

ká, ke, kí have the largest variety of meanings. They make adjectival relationship in a number of cases when, for example-

(i) used with materials they describe their 'make', as in lak'ri ka ghorá, wooden horse, sone ke gah'ne, golden ornaments, káth ki handiya, wooden kettle, lohe ki zanjir, an iron chain.

(ii) used with proper names of places they express origin or habitat, as in prayág ke am'rúd, guavas of Prayag, or láhanr ká

'mi. a man from Lahore.

(iii) used with names of living beings, they denote possession in ram'ka ghar, Rama's house; connection of responsibility, in kis ke hastáksar, whose signature; relation of kinship, in gáy ká bacca, cow's young; relation of office, in ram'pur ka kot'val, Kotwal of Rampur; relation of price or quality, in do paise ká dahi, curd for two pice; relation of time, in do din ka mela, a air for two days.

(iv) used figuratively as in kath ka ullu, an arrant fool, mitti

ká pińjar, the human body.

Besides, they add the following significations-

Objective, as in paksi ke lane ki ajaiya, permission to bring the bird, lar'ke ke capat laga di, he gave a slap to the boy.

Genitive, as in pitá ká pyár, father's love, ashok ká rájya, .

Ashoka's government, ap ká makán, your house.

Instrumental, as in bhukh ká márá, starved by hunger, dúdh ká jalá, burnt by milk, janma ká daridri, pauper by birth.

Ablative, as in bambai ká calá, started from Bombay.

Dative, as in palse ki cini, sugar for a pice, savári ká úát, a camel for riding.

In a number of idiomatic phrases ká has special meanings which are, in fact, due to ellipsis. Examples—

ká denotes age in cár mahine ká baccá, a child of four months; measure, in das bighe ká khet, a field of 10 acres; place or possession, in un'ke ek lay'ká hai, they have a son or lit. there is a boy in their house; and so on.

ká and ke not only signify the difference of singular and plural, they also suggest a great difference in meaning. Compare—

sab ká sab, the whole, and sab ke sab, all (severally).

jhunda ká jhunda, whole of the (one) group, and jhunda ke jhunda, many groups.

rájá ká mukut páte hí, as soon as he obtained the king's crown, and rájá ke mukut páte hí, when the king obtained his crown.

6. ii. Nouns and Verbs as Postpositions.

Certain nouns, adjectives used as nouns, and verbs in Hindi make typically NIA postpositions, generally with ke, ki (of) and sometimes with se (from) or (by). They present an interesting semantic incidence. Compare—

sang, company, ap ke sang, along with you (lit. in your company).

sáth, company, báp ke sáth, with his father.

hath, hand, nankar ke hath, through (by hand of) his servant. pas, side, ghar ke pas, near the house.

bal, force, sir ke bal, head downwards.

artha, purpose, ap ke artha yah sampatti hal, this property is for you.

kárap, reason, áp ke kárap, due to you.

hetu, cause (now obsolete), same as ke karan above.

jagah, place, cap'rasi ki jagah, in place of the peon.

bhitar, inside, ghar ke bhitar, in the house.

båhar, outside, ghar ke båhar, out of the house.

apekeá, regard, us'ki apekeá yah chotá hal, this is smaller then (lit, in regard to) that.

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dvárá, means, rám ke dvárá, by Ráma or through Ráma. or, side, uttar kí or, towards the north. khátir, sake, bete kí khátir, for (the sake of) his son. bhááti, manner, kal kí bhááti, like yesterday.

The following are adjectives, but as the genitive ke or ki shows, they are used as nouns in the examples below—

atirikta, excessive, is ke atirikta, besides this.
anurup, similar, samay ke anurup, in accordance with times.
anukul, favourable, up ke anukul, in favour of.
adhin, subordinate, raja ke adhin, under the king.
ul'ta, reverse, is se ul'ta kam, work contrary to this.
purva, former, samay se purva, before time.
barabar, equal, up ke barabar, like you.
vip'rit, opposite, is ke vip'rit, contrary to this.
viruddha, opposite, vayu ke viruddha, against wind.
yogya, able, fit, kul ke yogya, worthy of the family.
saman, equal. same as 'barabar' above.
sarikha, equal, (now obsolete) same as 'barabar' above.

We can now endorse with authority the opinion of Dr. Kellogg that most of the postpositions are originally nouns some of which have been truncated beyond recognition. If morphologists could retrace original nouns of such postpositions, their sematological study would be very interesting.

Of the verbs, liye, taking, means 'for' and mare, beating, kar'ke, having done, mean 'on account of', when used postpositionally, as in ap ke liye, for you, cahoa ke mare, on account of the mice, is kar'ke, on account of this.

6. iii. Adverbial Postpositions.

In OIA and MIA, the locative case was commonly used to form adverbs. In the cases noted above, the locative case-ending in the Hindi words has dropped, but the locative sense is in tact. In the following adverbs, the locative affix is reminiscent of the OIA usage. bharose, relying on, lekke, in account, pal'te, had'le, in exchange, sam'me, in front, tale, or nice, lit. in the low place (below), age, in front, piche, lit. in back (behind), and such other words are nouns in locative case with -e ending, but they are

semantically used as adverbs. When used as postpositions, they change meaning. As a matter of fact, such a postposition is a modifier of the verb. But the difference in the meaning of forms with and without ke is important in the following—

áge calo, go forward, viváh ke áge, before the marriage.
piche hato, move back, ghar ke piche, behind the house.
báhar jáo, go out, shakti ke báhar, beyond power.
tum nice gire, you fell down, us'ke nice kyá pará hal?
What is lying under it?
pás áo, come near, un'ke pás rabar hal, he has a rubber.

pah'le khá lo, first cat, kháne ke pah'le, before meals. sám'ne áo, come forward, rájá ke sám'ne, in front of the king.

In some cases, se and men distinguish fine shades of meanings, as in—

ghar ke age, in front of the house, and ghar se age, farther from the house.

ane ke pah'le, just before coming, and ane se pah'le, before coming.

nagar ke báhar, outside (near) the city, and nagar se báhar, away from the city.

is ke nice, under it, and is se nice, still below it.

is ke upar, on it, and is se upar, upper.

ke, in the above examples, denotes simple postpositional relationship and se denotes the comparative degree.

6. iv. Postpositions understood.

In a large number of expressions, usage has elided postpositions which are just implied. Examples—

vah tin sál bará hai, he is older by three years.

sárí rát kám kar'tá rahá, he kept working (dwing) the whole night.

vah cir kál jág'tá rahá, he kept waking for long time.
vah kal rát mar gayá, he died (at) last night.
sab ap'ne ghar gaye, all went to their respective homes.
áp ap'ni ánkhon dekh lete, you could see with your own eyes.
ek vidh'vá hal jo ap'ne hi ghar rah'ti hal, there is a widow who lives in her own house.

HINDI SEMANTICS IX

7. CONJUNCTIONS.

- (i) THE COPULATIVE.
- (ii) THE DISJUNCTIVE.
- (iii) THE ADVERSATIVE.
- (iv) The HYPOTACTICAL.
- (v) Conjunctions understood.

The term 'conjunction' does not explain or cover the scope of the words included under the name. Indian Grammarians extend the scope by using two names, sańyojak (Conjunction) and vibhájak (Disjunction). But even this does not fully meet the whole range of meanings conveyed by them. The classification of Dr. Kellogg is semantically and syntactically more important. The following study is based on the lines indicated in his Grammar of Hindi Language.

7. i. The Copulative.

mar is the simple copula used paratactically, as in tin mar car sat, three and four make seven, ram mar lakeman, Rama and Lakemana, ghar ao mar kam karo, come home and do your work.

It has a special syntactical meaning in certain uses.

As a pronoun in kuch mar, anything else, koi mar, any other, mar ka mar, different.

As an adjective in **Mar ám láo**, bring more mangoes, **Mar kám kar lo**, do some different or other work.

As a pronominal adjective in lallú á gayá, mir kmin áyegá (Lallu has come, who else is expected).

As an adverb in yah mur bhi accha hai, it is still better.

Sometimes ambiguity is caused as in such expressions as main that war keen jaye may be understood to mean: "If I come, who will go?" or "May I come? Who else will go?".

With verbs, it denotes sequence of actions, one following another. Examples—

vah á gayá hal sur rahegá bhí, he has come and he will stay here, too.

kháo mr cale áo, cat and come on.

In such expressions it does not have the cumulative meaning.

7. ii. The Disjunctive.

The disjunctive conjunctions present a variety of meanings. Ordinarily they involve the question of choice, as in rám yá (or) (vá, ath'vá) shyám; merí báten acchi lag'tí hain vá nahín? Do you like my talk or not? log cáh'te hain ki nahín? Do the people wish it or not?

The same meanings are expressed by repeating the conjunction with every alternative.

yá.....yá, cither.....or, in yá gangá men kúd marúngi yá
việ khá lúngi.

na.....na, neither.....nor, in na hindú hal na musal'mán. cáhe.....cáhe, whether.....or, in cáhe áve cáhe na áve. S., also Punj. bháveá (lit. one may wish).

kyá.....kyá, whether.....or, kyá strí kyá purus.

In some expressions there is only one disjunction between two alternatives, and it is more emphatic. Compare hindú se laren na gabra se vair karen, we neither quarrel with the Hindu nor have enmity with the fire-worshipper, or kare cáhe na kare, he may do it or not.

These conjunctions also denote other meanings in special syntaxes. In banáras yá káshí (Benares or Kashi), it is used in apposition. In yá banáras thí yá sun'sán hal (It was then Benares, now it is all desolate), it shows contrast. In ma tum áte ma yah upadrav khará hotá (Neither you had come, nor would have this calamity happened), it shows condition.

7. iii. The Adversative.

The adversative 'but' is expressed by par, magar, parantu, varan and kintu. magar (from Persian) and par have the force of exceptive, as in car phal kate magar (par) keval ek accha aik'lá, Four fruits were cut but only one turned out to be good. parantu is a strong adversative, meaning 'but' with a capital B.

parantu yadi vicár kar dekhá jáye...But if we think deeply. varan has often more of a cumulative than adversative force. na keval rupaye hi diye varan vastra bhi dán kiye, he gave not only money but also clothes. kintu is often equal to parantu.

Occasionally it approximates in meaning to varam (Skt. varam), as in main keval sanpera nahin hun kintu bhasa ka kavi bhi hun, I am not only a snake-charmer but also a poet.

Punjabi also distinguishes between par or epar, but, and hatthon, but rather. The latter involves a greater contrast. Compare oh á tán geyá par (epar) cangá nahin hoya, he has, of course, come, but it is not good, and oh nahin áyá, hatthon cangá hoyá, he has not come, but it is rather good.

7. iv. The Hypotactical.

Of the hypotactical conjunctions, which show subordination we have four semantic categories: (a) the hypothetical or conditional yadi or jo (agar), if, (b) the concessive yadyapi (jo..... bhi), although, (c) the explanative or causal ki and kyońki, because, and (d) the illative to, therefore. Of these jo, to and ki have important semantic variations.

(a) The various meanings of jo may be noted.

jo tú man kí saccí hal... if you are truthful by heart... jo yah bát na thí to... when this was not the matter, then... yah kisí kí sámarthya nahín jo us'ká sám'ná kare, It i

not in the power of anybody that he should face him.

mujhe mar'ná nahín jo tumhárá pakṣa karún? Have I not to die for which I should favour you?

vah jo bulátá hal to mujhe jáná hí paregá, Because he call me, I shall have to go.

jo mujhe áp tyág bhí den, (Even) though you foresake me.

(b) ki is the Persian equivalent for jo. In Hindi it is commonly used as an explanative, the original sense being altogether suppressed e.g. main ne kaha ki yah thik hai, I said that it was right.

It has a variety of special meanings, as in jáoge ki nahín will you go or not?; main mahín uth sak'tá ki mere sir mer pirá hai, I cannot rise for I have headache. ham tumhen bhej't hain ki tum kám kar áo, We send you so that (or, in order that you may do this work. Often ki would be rendered by the work-saying' as in vah manátá rahá ki kal kháná na khá sakeáge.

ki is used pleonastically in vah jo ki balthá hal, he who i sitting. (c) to < tau < tao < tado < tatah indicates result, as in—
yadi vah á gayá to maiá jáúágá, If he turns up then I snall
go, or to kahlá ján chútí, then, after all, we were freed.

The pronoun so or so to and the conjunction to are equivalent in meaning when used as illative conjunctions, as in vah jo á gayá, so (to) mujhe jáná hí paregá, As he has come up, so I shall have to go.

to also has the sense of 'indeed', when it is not a conjunction, as in áo to sahi, do come, or in jagat ká kartá to vah hal, He, indeed, is the creator or thik to hal, it is, of course, right.

7. v. Conjunctions Understood.

Sometimes conjunctions are omitted in expression but readily understood in meaning, as in—

bhale bure ki pah'cán, distinction between good and evil.
jay siyárám, victory to Sítá and Ráma.
dukh sukh ká dene válá, the giver of sorrow and joy.
áye áye, na áye na hí áye, he may or may not come.
garam hí nahin kar'vá bhí hai, it is not only hot but also
bitter.

Modern Hindi rests semantically on a sounder basis for having a distinctive set of conjunctions. Punjabi je may mean 'if' or 'that', kadi may mean 'if' or 'whatever', jan may mean 'when' or 'or'.

8. INTERJECTIONS.

8. Interjections.

There is nothing particular in the meaning of interjections except that some of them may be used to express various kinds of feelings, as are may express address, surprise, contempt or anger, as in are, idhar 40, O, come here, are yah kyá? O, What is this? are hat re, O you, get away, are tú kum hotá hal alsá, O, Who are you like that?

oh expresses surprise mingled with sorrow or it is a self-reminder,

D

or it may signify joy. As a rule, the significations of several interjections depend upon intonation, including pitch.

Similar variety of meaning is found in **ah'há** which may express sorrow, admiration, surprise or joy, or **rám rám**, or **váh**, which may indicate nearly any emotion.

Some of the interjections have fixed meanings as dhik, fie, dhanya, bravo, chih, chi, away, away, etc.

9. THE VERB.

(i) SEMANTIC FUNCTION OF THE VERB.

THE SENSE AND MOOD OF THE VERB — THE INTRANSITIVE —
THE TRANSITIVE FORCE.

(ii) COMPOUND VERBS.

THE ANCILLARIES - CLOSE AND LOOSE COMPOUNDS.

(iii) Tenses and Moods.

MODAL AND TEMPORAL CONDITIONS — SEMANTIC TENSE —
FUTURITY DEFINED.

(iv) THE VOICE.

THE PRAYOGAS - THE TWO VOICES.

(v) THE INFINITIVE.

As a Noun - Futurity.

(vi) PARTICIPLES.

As Adverbs — As Verbs — Active and Passive — Further Semantic Changes.

9. i. Semantic Function of the Verb.

The verb is a very important part of speech syntactically. It is the basis of all expression.* Although there are verbless sentences and the verb may be expressed by other words or gestures, the verbal idea is always present in every sentence.

THE SENSE AND MOOD OF A VERB. It is believed by all grammarians that a verb is expressive of action or it denotes being. This 'doing' or 'being' may signify—

^{*}bhávaprádhánamákhyátam.

- (a) positiveness as in lar'ká játá hal, the boy goes, gayá thá, had gone.
- (b) probability, as in lar'ká utháye, the boy may lift; terá jay ho, may you win.
- (c) order, as in jáo, go; vaháá mat balthiye, do not sit there.
- (d) doubt, as in vah játá hogá, he may be going; gayá hogá, he might have gone.
- (e) condition, as in mere pás hotá to de detá, if I had it, I would have given it.

We may further classify the verb in two ways according to the general scope of its meaning and usage. First, a verb denotes a single action or happening, or it involves the compounded idea of two actions. Examples—

Simple verb maiń gayá, I went, já rahá hai, he is going.
Compound verb maiń ne rakh diyá, I placed it away, vah
udhar já baithá, he went and sat there.

The verb may be further classified into transitive and intransitive according as it involves the object or the subject for the completion of its meaning. There are verbs which must be transitive, such as causals, and verbs which must be intransitive. Yet there is a large number of verbs which may be either transitive or intransitive according to their relationship or function in the sentence. Compare—

maiń shabda sun'tá hún, I hear a sound, and, maiń sun sak'tá hún, I can hear.

main vákya bol'tá hún, I utter a sentence, and, gúngá bol'tá hai, the dumb man speaks.

main path path'tá hún, I read the 'lesson, and, main path'tá hún, I read.

maiń ne use lal'cáyá, I tempted him, and, merá jí lal'cáyá, my heart was tempted.

THE INTRANSITIVE. The intransitive verb has four semantic varieties, namely (a) the Active Intransitive, (b) the Neutral, (c) the Incomplete and (d) the Impersonal.

The active intransitive verb refers only to the subject for the completion of its meaning, as in ram utha, Rama woke up, mala bhejaaga, I shall send, we dance, they ran.

IX

A neuter verb implies a state for which the subject is not responsible on account of any activity of his or its, e.g. us'ká sir dukh'tá hal, his head aches, cakkí cal'tí hal, the mill works. Compare also deh'lí á gayí, Delhi has come.

By incomplete verbs we mean to imply such intransitive verbs as do not convey full meaning, without an adjunct in apposition, as vah diván ban gayá, he made (became) a Diwan, vah cor dikh'tá hal, he looks a thief, vah bimár rahá, he remained ill, ghorá canpáyá hal, the horse is a quadruped, etc.

In form, the impersonal verb is passive, but there is no grammatical nominative or psychological accusative governed by it. It is, in fact, the passive use of the intransitive verb. Compare—

us se kháyá nahín játá, but Eng. 'He cannot eat'.
kyá mujh se jágá jáy'gá? Eng. 'Can I keep waking'?

ham se cup nahin raha gaya, We could not keep silent.

Note that this form involves the idea of practicability or possibility and obligation, and it has specific signification, too.

THE TRANSITIVE FORCE. The transitive force does not limit itself to, the establishment of a link between the verb and the object or complement; it restricts the meaning of the verb itself. Compare—

maiń dekh'tá húń, I sce, and, maiń use dekh'ne já rahá húń, I am going to see him.

maiń khátá húń, I eat, and, maiń cával khátá húń, I eat rice.

maiń pitá húń, I drink, and, maiń pání pitá húń, I drink water.

In this connection it may be noted that most of the verbs were first intransitive to which transitive meaning and often transitive form for the sake of semantic distinction and clarity were given later. toy'ná (< táy'ná), to break, phoy'ná (< phát'ná), to dash into pieces, hiláná (< hil'ná), to move, chil'ná, (< chil'ná), to peel, and a host of other transitive verbs are derived from intransitive forms.

The causals are also transitive forms, but they are distinguished semantically. The true causal verb indicates the causing of another to do something instead of doing it oneself, e.g. kar'ná, to do, karáná, to cause another to do. Hindi has only two kinds of causals: First causals infixed with - á- and second causals infixed

with -avá- as karáná, kar'váná, < kar'ná, to do.

But there are transitive verbs in Hindi which are causal in form but active in meaning, such as duboná (from dub'ná), to drown, ukhár'ná (from ukhar'ná), to uproot, sudhár'ná (from sudhar'ná), to reform, utháná (from uth'ná), to raise, rok'ná (from ruk'ná), to stop, chil'ná (from chil'ná), to peel, bacáná (from bac'ná), to save, ghol'ná (from ghul'ná), to mix.

There are, however, two distinctive causal meanings in some forms, as—

bacce ke nah'lana, to cause the baby to bathe.

bacce ko nahal'váná, to cause another to cause the baby to bathe.

bacce ko khiláná, to cause the boy to play or eat.

bacce ko khil'váná, to cause another to cause the boy to play or eat.

So aslo piláná, pil'váná from piná, to drink, suláná, sul'váná from soná, to sleep, bitháná, bith'váná from baith'ná, to sit, siláná, sil'váná from siná, to sew, dhuláná, dhul'váná from dhoná, to wash, diláná, dil'váná from dená, to give, etc.

Compare S. ghá, wound, ghárá, cause to wound, ghárárá, cause another to cause to wound, dháinu, to suck the breast, dháráinu, to cause the child to suck, dháráinu, to cause another to cause the child to suck.

In not a few cases the original causal meaning is now forgotten and replaced by a transitive meaning. Examples—

parhana, to teach, actually meant 'to cause another to read'.
jagana, to awaken, meant 'to cause another to wake up'.
uthana, to lift, meant 'to cause another (thing or person) to

sam'jhana, to explain, once meant 'to cause another to understand'.

9. ii. Compound Verbs.

Hindi as well as other Modern IA languages has a remarkably important set of verbs which, when compounded with other verbs, give up their own character or signification and serve to tone the force of the preceding verb or somewhat modify its sense.

THE ANCILLARIES. The compound verbs are the result of the law of specialization. In Sanskrit we had desiderative, frequentative, repetitive and other forms. Like postpositions, these ancillary verbs are more independent and handy instruments than the modal and temporal terminations or root-modifying prefixes. Dr. S. K. Chatterji thinks (ODBL. p. 1050) that they are, perhaps, a contribution of Dravidian in the formation of Modern Indo-Aryan speeches. It may be pointed out that compound verbs are very regular in Persian, too, for which see the chapter on Idioms.

It may be difficult to find a term which would exactly express the idea added by the secondary verb, but approximately—

- (a) dená adds intensity, completeness, permission or benefaction to another, thus retaining in the last two senses the idea of 'giving', e.g. pheńk dená, to throw away, nikál dená, to turn out forcibly, hatá dená, to remove completely, jáne dená, to let go, cal diyá, died, darshan dená, to show oneself. Compare rakh'ná, to put, and rakh dená, to lay by. Compare Guj. nár'ví deo, throw (it) away, Mar. tákún de, throw it away, Punj. sut de, throw away, Beng. bheńge deuá, to break fully.
- (b) lená adds reflection, appropriation, and completeness of action affecting oneself. Compare orh lo, wrap yourself up, and thánk lo, cover (this thing) up; piná, to drink, pi lená, to drink up (completely), nám le lená, to repeat the name (of God).
- (c) áná implies doing a thing and coming back after having done, and thus has a certain sense of completing an action, as in dekh áo, go and see and come back. In Guj. it has the sense of 'becoming' vagad'tuń ávuń, to become spoilt. Also compare H. mujhe parh'ná átá hal, I know reading, and Mar. mi játáń yeto, I can go.
- (d) jáná adds finality and continuation, and also retains the sense of 'going'. Compare kháná, to eat, and khá jáná, to eat up, kám ho gayá, the work is done, vah likh'tá játá hai may mean 'he goes on writing', or 'he writes on while going.' vah rotá játá hai, he goes weeping. Compare S. vaáthi vaáj'nuá, to take off, car'thi vaáj'nuá, to go ascending; Beng. boke jáuá, to go on chattering.

It also shows passive action, as in H. kháyá gayá, was caten.

(e) uth'ná shows suddenness, as in bol uth'ná, to speak up, kánp uth'ná, to tremble by alarm, csmák uth'ná, to be startled.

(f) baith'ná suggests suddenness of completion with a shade of irrevocability, and undesirability, as in már baith'ná, to beat unintentionally, maiá kah baithá, I was obliged to say but I was sorry, kho baith'ná, to lose for good, etc.

(g) dál'ná adds force as in phor dál'ná, to smash into pieces, már dál'ná, to beat to death, phár dál'ná, to tear away, kar dál'ná, to finish at once. The idea of dál'ná, to place, is still felt. kar dál'ná really means 'to do it and place it away' i.e. 'to do away with a thing.' Compare Beng, phelá in muche phelá, to rub off.

(h) par'ná implies, generally, suddenness or chance, as in sun par'ná, to listen unawares, sújh par'ná, to realize suddenly. It implies urgency in tumhen kar'ná paregá, you will have to do it.

(i) cuk'ná is a completive, as in vah khá cuká hai, he has done eating. Compare S. kare cuk'nuń, to have finished doing; O. diyá cukiyáchi, I have done giving. Oriya uses sár as khái sárili, I have done eating. Bengali also uses phelá for intensity and completeness, as boliye phelá, to finish speaking.

(j) kar'ná suggests frequency of an action, as in vah áyá kar'tá hal, he frequently comes, tum alsá kyoń kiyá kar'te ho? why do you do it again and again. Compare Guj. karyá kar'vuń, to keep on doing.

(k) cáh'ná denotes desire—maiń jáná cáh'tá húá, I want to go, maiń ne tapasvi ki kanyá ko rok'ná cáhá, I wished to stop the ascetic's daughter. It denotes future tense in jáná cáh'tá hal, he is about to go.

(l) lag'ná is an inceptive, as in áp kah'ne lage, he began to say, wah parh'ne lagá also means 'he became occupied in reading.' Compare S. ruan lagio, he began to cry; Mar. máruń lág'lá, he began to strike; Beng. karite lágil, he began to do. It implies futurity in jáne lagá hal, is about to go.

(m) sak'ná adds practicability or potentiality, as in bol sak'ná, to be able to speak.

(n) már'aá, to strike, adds a sense of undesirability, as in wah á mará, he came up (was not wanted), do rupaye le mará, took away (though not willingly on my part) two rupees.

(o) rah'ná implies continuance in a state, while jáná, kar'ná, as detailed above, imply continuance of an action—vah likh'tá rah'tá hal, he keeps writing, nadí bah'tí rah'tí hal, the river flows on continually. Compare us'ká sab mál játá rahá hal, all his

property is gone.

(p) páná is an acquisitive ancillary. Compare main baith'ne mahin páyá thá, I was not yet allowed to sit, tum vahán jáne na páoge, you will not be allowed to go there. It is equivalent in meaning to the potential sak'ná, can.

Note 1. Almost all of these ancillaries imply intensity. Compare pheńk dená, to throw away, khá jáná, to eat up, kát dál'ná, to cut off, le lená, to take away, gir par'ná, to fall down, baith rah'ná, to sit still, etc. Compare Beng. kere neuá, to snatch away, eshe pará, to come along, diye deuá, to give away, kete phelá, to cut down, boshe jáuá, to sit down, etc.

Note 2. Sometimes compounding does not add much meaning, as in sam'jhá dená = sam'jháná; dikhá dená = dikháná.

Note 3. Sometimes the signification of the second member is so much intensified that the first loses much of its meaning; e.g. carh simply adds the idea of hostility and the meaning of the second element prevails in carh dhana, carh ana, carh danr'na.

CLOSE AND LOOSE COMPOUNDS. So far as compounding of verbal meaning is concerned, these compounds are of two kinds—

(i) close compound verbs and (ii) loose compound verbs.

When **khá jáo** means 'eat up', it is a close compound and when it means 'having eaten, go', it is a loose compound. In the former case the compound gives one verbal concept. The first verb in a close compound makes the main contribution to that idea, but the second simply modifies its force in some way. More examples—

ro baith'ná, to give way to grief, and ro uth'ná, to break out crying; lautá dená, to return (a thing), lautá lená, to receive it back; phor dál'ná, to smash, ján bújh'kar, knowingly, sikháná parháná, to instruct well, kar kará ke, having done away, etc.

Hindi also has a special device of forming verbs by adding the same formative verbs, as enumerated above, to nouns, participles, adjectives, and gerunds. Such nominal verbs may be considered along with idiomatic usages for which see VII. 4. and also p. 259. More examples—

lát már'ná, lit. to beat leg, to kick; áváj már'ná, lit. to beat a call, to call; pańkhá kar'ná, lit. to do fan, to fan; bhojan kar'ná, to do food, to eat; dikhái dená, to appear; mol lená, lit. to take on price, to buy; samápta kar'ná, to finish; khará honá, to stand; varpan kar'ná, to describe; gat honá, to become gone, to die. kar'ná and honá are profusely used for such formations. Doing and being, we noted earlier, make up the spirit of a verb.

Nominal and conjugated verbs (ata hai, comes, a raha hai, is coming, aya hoga, may have come, etc.) are also close compounds so far as their meaning is concerned.

In the case of loose compounds each member retains, more or less fully, its own proper meaning. Examples—

já sak'ná, to be able to go, kahá kar'tá thá, went on saying (used to say), khá cuk'ná, to finish eating, parh'te rah'ná, to keep reading, kar dekho, do and see (experiment), parh'ne lag'ná, to commence reading, cilláte jáná, to go crying, jáne dená, to let go, sun'ná cáh'ná, to be about to listen or to wish to listen, jáne páyá, was allowed to go.

dená, kar'ná, jáná are thus used to make close as well as loose compounds.

9. iii. Tenses and Moods.

MODAL AND TEMPORAL CONDITIONS. Moods may be separate categories from tenses for grammarians but a semantician notes that tenses and moods are co-existent.

Moods are simply dispositions of the soul and they may relate to the present, the past or the future time. Thus condition, order, wish, request, concession, doubt, presumption, possibility or contingency, definite statement, indefiniteness, completion or imperfection of action may be expressed in relation to any tense. Examples—

- (a) Condition—jo terá guru yah ján'tá hai.....(present), if your preceptor knows it; yadi vah bímár pare.....(present or future), if he may fall sick; yadi vah játá......(past), if he went or had gone; yadi vah gayá hotá......(past), if he had gone; yadi vah gayá(future), if he would go.
- (b) Order, wish and request may be expressed in the subjunctive form. In fact, order, wish and request are shades of the same meaning. The idea of action in each case has more or less a tinge of the will of the speaker, which, if strongly expressed, is order, and if humbly indicated is request. Compare—

par'matma bacaye (wish), may God protect; bacca sukh i

rahe (blessing), may the child be happy; vah uth'kar munh dhoye, (order) he may wash his mouth.

This form refers to the near future or the immediate present.

The other forms which express the same moods are—

baith (present), shows the seniority of the speaker; baitho (present) shows affection; baithiye (present) is more polite; baithiyegá (present or future) is politer still; baith'ná (future) shows the authority of the speaker and signifies direction.

Sometimes these moods may be expressed by the concessive forms noted above. There is a little difference between wish and condition, both being the expressions of the same mood of the mind.

Command or request, with reference to the past tense, is meaningless in that it is simply a wishful condition, as in (a) above.

(c) Presumption and contingency are allied in meaning.

játe hońge, játá ho, might be going (present and future), gayá ho, gaye hońge, might have gone (past),

jáyeń, might go (future).

- (d) Definiteness—vah játá hai (present), he goes; vah gayá (past), he went; vah jáy'gá (future), he will go; vah gayá hai (present perfect), he has gone; vah játá thá (past imperfect), he was going; vah já rahá hai, vah já rahá thá, vah játá rahegá, vah já rahá hogá are progressive forms of all tenses.
- (e)-Perfection of action, meaning 'already'—vah gayá hai (present), he has gone; ve gaye honge (presumptive), he would have gone; vah gayá ho (contingent), he might have gone; vah gayá hotá (conditional), if he had gone.
- (f) Imperfection of action—vah játá hai (present), he goes; ve játe honge (presumptive), they might be going. vah játá thá (past), he used to go; vah játá (conditional), if he had been going; vah játá ho (contingent), he might be going.

The progressive forms also denote imperfection of action. We have already said and shown in these pages that the grammatical forms are not always the same as the semantical forms. The tenses also show that the form of the tense does not necessarily give the meaning of the tense.

SEMANTIC TENSE. Besides the present form itself, the present tense may be expressed by the past tense, as in main ne kháná khá.

Hyá, I have finished my meal, or even by the future tense, as in balthiyegá, please sit down.

The past tense may also be expressed by the present form, as in historical or vivid narrative, e. g. vyás válmíki ke bád hue halá means 'Vyása lived after Válmíki', rání mar játí hal, to rájá mr viváh kar letá hal, when the queen died, the king was remarried. The future tense is used to imply the past tense in reported speech, e. g. us'ne kahá thá ki malá áúngá, parantu vah na áyá, he said that he would come but he did not.

The future tense, besides its own form, may be denoted by the present form, as in vah jáne lagá hal, he is about to go, malá ag'le saptáh á rahá húú, I am coming in the next week, kyá málúm vah átá hal ki nahíú, who knows whether he comes or not? or by the past tense, as in yadi malú vardhá gayá to gáádhí jí ke darshan karúúgá, lit. if I went to Wardhá, I shall see Gandhíjí.

FUTURITY DEFINED. In this connection, we may also note the shade of future meaning expressed in the following forms—

- (a) yah sam'jho ki main gayá to som'vár ko calá gayá, take it that if I went, I would have gone on Monday, shows indefinite intention.
- (b) maiń kal dilli jáne válá hún, I am about to go to Delhi tomorrow, shows mere intention.
- (c) mujhe kal jáná hai, I have to go tomorrow, shows that the speaker is obliged to go.
- (d) isi din to main ek sabha kar'ne ko hun, I am to convene a meeting on the same day, shows definite intention.
- (e) main yah kam nahin kar'ne ka, I amnot to do that work, shows firm resolve and also points out to the characteristic assertiveness of the speaker.

9. iv. The Voice.

THE PRAYOGAS. Indian grammarians have enumerated three verbal constructions or Prayogas, namely Subjective (kartari prayog), Objective (karmani prayog) and Impersonal (bháve prayog). From the definitions and illustrations, it is doubtful whether we have

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actually three or seven constructions or Prayogas. Semantically we have only two voices (vácya), the word Prayoga referring only to the formal aspect of the verb. main bolá, I said, and main ne kahá, I said, are subjective and objective only in construction and do not involve semantic variation. On the other hand, main ne kháyá, I ate, and main ne kháyá, I ate meal, have the same Prayoga but there is great semantic difference. The one has a general meaning and the other a restricted sense. vah láyá and us'ne lá diyá are different in meaning, not on account of the force of the construction, but on account of the single and the compound verbs. Again, semantically, the object is not at all the important element in the objective construction. The verb refers to the activity of the subject.

THE TWO VOICES. The active voice makes our sentences more easily and rapidly understood. It connects the action with the doer directly. The passive voice, although indispensable, is sometimes clumsy and sluggish. Compare—

ráni ne saheliyon ko buláyá, the queen called her friends, and saheliyán ráni se bulái gain, the friends were called by the queen.

The passive voice shows that the object is all important. It is a grammatical device to bring the object into prominence by making it a subject, as in cor pita gaya, the thief was thrashed. It, sometimes, denotes that the subject governed by the verb is unknown, as in aj hukum sunaya gaya, the order was given today. The form in such cases also implies authority as in ap ko yah cetavini di gai thi, you were given such a warning, tum'ko yah bataya jata hai ki..., you are hereby informed that..., yah phir dekha jay'ga, it shall be seen again.

The active voice for such sentences would not be so emphatic. Sometimes the two forms suggest a great difference in meaning. Examples—

main shanta hokar nahin baith'ta, I do not sit quietly, but mujh se shanta hokar nahin baitha jata, I cannot sit quietly; or lar'ke ne roți nahin khai, the boy did not (himself) take food, though he could, but lar'ke se roți nahin khai gai, the boy could not eat food, because he had, perhaps, acute toothache; etc., etc.

The active use of passive action in the following is remarkable

anáj bik'tá hai, corn is sold. kháná pak'tá hai, food is cooked.

The passive meaning may also be expressed in some other forms, as-

- (a) alsá kah'te halá, it is said. sút kát'te mr us se kap'rá bun'te halá, cotton is spun and cloth is made of it.
- (b) sarak sinc rahi hal, the road is being sprinkled with water.

 ghar ban'tá hal, the house is made.
- (c) sun'ne men aya hai, it has been heard.
- (d) ján par'tá hal, it is known.
- (e) yah riti pracalit hui, the practice was started.
- (f) yah bát meri jáni hui hai, It is known to me.

etc., etc.

9. v. The Infinitive.

AS A NOUN. The infinitive is called by Hindi grammarians kriyárthak sańjńiyá, i.e. a noun giving the meaning of a verb. In fact, it is a verb giving the meaning of a noun. Anyhow, it is a noun in its derivation as well as application, e.g. as a subject in vaháń jáná tumháre liye acchá nahíń, to go there is not advisable for you, or as object in us ne tujhe talr'ná sikháyá, he taught you to swim, maiń parh'ná ján'tá húń, I know reading, etc. It serves the purpose of a gerund, too. More examples of its use as a noun, regularly declined, are—

jab panc baras bit'ne par aye, when five years came about (were about) to pass.

cori kar'ne se kyá milegá? What will you gain by stealing?

vah dene ká nahín, he is not willing to give.

prárth'ná kar'ne par vah mán gayá, he agreed on making a request.

FUTURITY. The use of the infinitive as an imperative has been noted. Whether as a substantive or as a verb, the idea of futurity is markedly present in infinitives. Compare—

vah jáná cáh'tá hal, he wants to go, ek din sab kí yah gati honi hal, one day this has to be the fate of all, tum kojáná cáhiye, you should go, mujhe jáne do, let me go, IX

dúdh ubal'ne válá hai, milk is about to boil, chuttí meá ap'ná páth parh'ná, do read the lesson on a holiday.

9. vi. Participles.

Hindi has three kinds of participles—Imperfect, Perfect and Conjunctive. The following observations are important regarding their meaning.

AS ADVERBS. As derived from and qualifying verbs, they are, in effect, adverbs. Compare—

vah patra likh'te hue soc rahá hai, he is thinking while writing the letter.

main panv dhoe baithi hun, I am sitting with my feet

mantri ko sam'jhá kar kahá, having explained, he said to the minister.

meaningful words. The imperfect, Perfect and Conjunctive are meaningful words. The imperfect participle represents an act or state as in the process of being done or experienced, i.e. not yet concluded. e. g. háthí jhúm'tá huá cal'tá haí, the elephant goes waving, vah mar'te mar'te bacá, i. e. he was saved while dying.

The perfect participle represents an act completed, e.g. rájá ko mare do varça bit gaye, two years have passed since the king died. The conjunctive participle manages to express jointly two verbs at a time, one preceding the other, as us'ne vaháá jákar kahá, he went there and said.

The conjunctive participle governs two actions, one done before the other. The conjunctive participle also expresses the cause of the main verb, as in vah tir khákar bhágá, he ran away having been shot by an arrow. It further expresses various other circumstances accompanying the action of the main verb, as kálindí ne hari ko pánv dabákar jagáyá, Kálindi awakened Hari by pressing his feet, malá ne uth'kar púchá, I asked having stood up (showing manner).

Thus participles also function, semantically though not grammatically, as verbs.

ACTIVE AND PASSIVE. The imperfect and conjunctive participles are active, while the perfect participle is generally passive, when used with its verbal force. merá sukh dekh'te tumheń burá lag'tá hal, you see me happy and at the same time you become unhappy. us'ne kháná khákar patra pathá, he first took his meals and then read the letter, but gale meń phánsi dále hue, with a halter thrown round the neck. There are, however, instances in which the meaning of the perfect participle is also active, as in rájá ne bráhman ko áyá dekhá, the king saw the priest come.

There is, at times greater force and clarity in the participial form than in the absolute form of the verb. Compare—

játe hue us'ne bacce ko dhakká de diyá, he pushed the boy while going, and vah já rahá thá to us'ne bacce ko dhakká de diyá, while he was going, he pushed the boy.

rájá ne bráhman ko áyá dekhá, the king saw the Bráhmana come, and rájá ne dekhá to bráhman áyá huá hai, when the king saw the Bráhmana had come.

tir carhákar márá, hit him aiming an arrow, and tir carháyá Enr márá, aimed an arrow and hit him.

Here it may be noted that the semantic variety of Hindi constructions is not available in English.

FURTHER SEMANTIC CHANGES. The perfect and imperfect participles may also represent adjectives and nouns. Examples—

- (a) Adjectives, attributive as well as predicative, as in—
 stri játí huí bolí, the woman, who was going, said.
 parhá líkhá ád'mí, an educated man.
 bát gaí bítí ho gaí, the matter was past and gone.
- (b) Nouns, mainly by ellipsis, as in—sote in main abhi sote se bhi nahin uthá = sleep. kahi in meri kahi nahin sun'tá = words. mar'tá in mar'tá kyá na kar'tá = the dying man. kati chati in dil ki kati chati = bitter feelings.

The conjunctive participle has the following meanings besides its verbal and adverbial forces—

- (a) Comparison—vah mujh se kahin barh'kar hal, he is better than myself. Compare Braj bach'ra kari ham janyo tahi, I took him as a calf.
 - (b) Instrument-man, vacan, karma kar'ke, by heart, by word

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and by deed.

(c) noun in opposition—pandit ji shastri kar'ke prasiddha hala, Panditji is known by the name of Shastri.

GENDER.

10. Gender.

In Hindi, besides nouns, adjectives and verbs also have forms of grammatical gender. Semantically, however, there is very negligible advantage of this device, as, for instance, in **main jati han** (I, female, go), to jati han (you, female, go), there is no ambiguity as it does exist in English. Verbal gender, is, especially, significant when a personal pronoun is governed, because Hindi pronouns have no distinctive forms even in the third person.

In nouns, masculine and feminine forms distinguish meanings.

- (a) Some forms denote simply opposite sexes, as munná, boy, munná, girl; betá, son, betá, daughter; sálá, brother-in-law, sálá, sister-in-law. The relationship indicated is that of brother and sister.
- (b) In some forms, the feminine gender denotes the wife of the male, as dádá, grandfather, dádí, grandmother; sálá, brother-in-law, sal'haj, sal'
- (c) In some forms, the meanings of (a) and (b) above are combined, as **dhobi**, washerman, **dhobin**, washerwoman; **bak'rá**, he-goat, **bak'ri**, she goat. Such forms are quite numerous.
- Note the masculine forms of bahin, sister, i.e. bhái, brother, and bah'noi, sister's husband.
- (d) Some feminine forms, especially of names of inanimate objects, show diminution. Compare lotá, jar, lutivá, a small jar; pattá, leaflet; golá, ball, golí, pill.
- (e) Some forms denote different objects or concepts, as Skt. vyaájana, consonant, vyaájaná, suggestiveness; or H. chátá, umbrella, chátí, chest; aágúthá, thumb, aágúthá, ring; gundá, villain, gundá, a ball of thread; ghará, pitcher, gharí, watch or clock. Also see page 112.
- (f) Some gender-forms distinguish shades of meanings, as ghará and gharí above; or gag'rá, a metal-pitcher, gag'rí, an earthen pitcher; dorá, thread, dor, rope, etc.





SYNTACTICAL MEANING

1. SYNTAX AND CONTEXT.

1. Syntax and Context.

The word syntax, derived from two Greek words ('Syn' together and 'taxis', arranging), means arranging together of words (H. pad'vinyás). As a subject in Semantics, Syntax has to answer two questions:

- 1. How are meanings expressed in sentences and parts of sentences?
- 2. What are the various meanings of words and their forms in varied contexts?

The second question has been answered in the foregoing pages. Here we shall discuss the first question.

The knowledge of words is not an end by itself. It should help us to know the meaning of connected speech which is real language. "Anyone who, in compiling the history of the variation of meanings, took the words only into consideration would run the risk of losing a portion of the facts, or be in danger of explaining them wrongly".* A language is not formed solely of words, it is composed

^{*} Breal : p. 294.

of groups of words and phrases and sentences. A sentence is rightly called the unit of significant speech. Verbal cognition is derivable from a sentence only.*

It is only when words are put together and 'modified', and when they are expounded by the context that we can get their meaning with some accuracy. Words, commonly, take meaning through the influence of other words.

It has already been shown at length in the previous chapter that there are, strictly speaking, no parts of speech in Hindi independently. Their function as nouns, adjectives, etc., is determined by the other connected words in the sentence, i.e. it is the syntactical meaning of the group of words, or of a whole sentence, sometimes, which determines the grammatical value of individual words in a Hindi sentence.

It may also be noted that the sentence has the effect of restricting the meaning of all its members. In rám'candra ne sitá ko van meń bhej diyá, Rámacandra sent Sitá into the forest, the images presented by the words, rám'candra, sitá and van are restricted to one circumstance. Rámacandra, here, does not appear as a warrior, as an obedient son, or as an incarnation of God, but as a stern ruler. Sitá is not a bride, a prisoner or a queen, but as a pitiable exile. The forest does not present itself with all its beauties or its wild beasts, but as a place containing the exiled Sitá. Compare also ád'mi, man, or men, or men and women, ád'mi mar rahe haiá, men are dying, and ád'mi jel meń mar rahe haiá, men are dying in jail. Consider the pictures presented to the mind at the mention of the following—

(i) yátrí, a traveller, a pilgrim; (ii) jaháj, a ship; (iii) jaháj par yátrí, a traveller on a ship; (iv) jaháj par yátrí baithá hai, a traveller is sitting on the ship.

The meaning of the subject, the object and the verb is further restricted by various kinds of adjuncts, and the sentence presents a particularly specialized idea. Compare with the above ayodhyá ke rájá rám'candra ne satí sítá ko bhayának ban meá bhej'te samay kahá, Ráma, the king of Ayodhyá said to the chaste Sítá at the time of sending her to the dreadful forest. do bimár ád'mí láhanr kí seátral jel meá mar rahe halá, two sick persons are

^{*} Jagadish in "shabdashakti": 12.

dying in the Lahore Central jail. kináre par khare us jaháj par koi búrhá sá yátrí kur'si par baithá hai, some old traveller is sitting on that ship which is standing by the coast.

Thus the meaning of an individual word is defined by other words connected with it.

The exact meaning of the speaker can be understood in a context. Truly speaking it is not the sentence which constitutes the linguistic unit, it is the whole context, the whole setting, in which words are placed. The several words of a child are each a sentence, but they convey a definite meaning only in a context. Its That may mean 'I have eaten', 'you may eat', 'I want to eat', or 'he has eaten', etc. Compare also the language of telegrams, e.g. amrt'sar pah'li ván'si (lit. Amritsar first return), which may mean "I shall return to Amritsar on the 1st" or "he shall return to Amritsar by the first train" and so on. The sender and the addressee fully and unmistakably follow each other on account of the community of their context. The phraseology of a talk at one end of a telephone affords interesting examples. Even in common talk, curt expressions have to be used and construed simply by the help of the context. hán, yah to hai, (Yes, it is, indeed), ho aye? (Have you been?). cale calo (go on) are fully understood in a context only.

Even regular sentences need the prop of a context. ve aye half is a complete sentence, but it is the context which can determine whether it means 'he has come', 'she has come' or 'they have come'.

The context makes the meaning precise and understandable. Homonyms, polysemantic words or words used in and changed into a different sense are easily understood in different contexts. Sometimes we say one thing and mean another, yet we are understood on account of the context, as when telling the cycle-repairer pampa meń havá bhar do (fill air in the pump) when we have to say pampa se havá bhar do, or when sending for our daughter, Indira, by saying to the servant sarojiní ko bulá lá (call Sarojini).

Though illogical, these sentences do convey a meaning and semantically constitute a unit thought each. We do not seem to agree with Jespersen when he says that 'a sentence is a (relatively) complete and independent human utterance.* Rather, a sentence is a unit of thought.

^{*}Philosophy of Grammar, p. 307.

In reading, we go on skipping over words and sometimes even sentences and yet we are able to understand the meaning. At times we are enabled to know the meaning of unfamiliar words from the context.

Finally, it may be noted that a sentence does not always denote the meaning of its component parts. Sometimes it is expressive of the sense that is virtually different from that which is expressed by its constituents, either individually or collectively. Vishvanath asserts that there can be no arthabodha without tatparyajaiyana, i.e., understanding of the meaning the speaker wishes to convey by a sentence. We have to read between lines, and that is possible only with reference to the context. Further, it has been noted that our idioms, proverbs, abuses, curses and blessings do not generally convey the meaning of the component words.

It may be added that the above discussion, does not mean to suggest that words have no meaning apart from the context. If that were true, dictionaries would be useless. In common parlance, too, words have their significant place. But there is no doubt that context helps us to specify and define the meaning.

2. FORMS OF SENTENCES.

(i) SIMPLE, COMPOUND AND COMPLEX.

THE SIMPLE VS. THE COMPLEX SENTENCE — THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE — SEMANTIC APPROPRIATENESS OF A COMPLEX SENTENCE — COMPOUND SENTENCES — PARATACTICAL SENTENCES.

- (ii) Elliptical and tautological Sentences.
 - (a) ELLIPSIS.

Gesture Language — One-word Sentence — Juxtaposed Words — Incidence of Ellipsis: Grammatical and Contextual.

(b) TAUTOLOGY.

THE USE OF TAUTOLOGY - A BAD STYLE.

(iii) Coherent and Anacoluthic Sentences.

COHERENCE - ANACOLUTHON - SEQUENCE OF TENSES.

- (iv) STATEMENTS, WISHES, QUESTIONS, EXCLAMATIONS.
- (v) AFFIRMATIVE AND NEGATIVE SENTENCES.

AFFIRMATION -- NEGATION.

2. i. Simple, Compound and Complex.

The relation between the nature of a sentence and its signification is intimate. Almost every kind of idea can be expressed in a simple sentence or sentences. Generally, the simple sentence is the best means of expressing a simple idea. If the ideas are interdependent and co-ordinate, their connection and meaning may be better shown in a compound sentence. If the ideas are complicated, one depending on the other, they are sub-divided and clucidated by making clauses subordinate to the principal idea. A complex idea would not be readily understood in such a sentence with all kinds of adjuncts added to the subject, the object and the verb, as the following—

kyá nic ath'vá pápi mr krtaghna manuşya kabhi ap'ne bac'pan se bane áye mitroń ke prati bhalái tathá sevá ká koi chotá motá kám kar'ne ki icchá kar sak'te hain? (Can low or sinful and ungrateful persons ever wish to do an act of kindness or service of any sort towards their friends associated since boyhood?)

THE SIMPLE VS. THE COMPLEX SENTENCE. Such a thought is easily comprehended if subdivided into clauses and arranged systematically to help understanding. But it may be pointed out that the complex sentence is, as a rule, the literary man's expedient. The device in colloquial vernacular, as we shall discuss later, is generally different. The main object of splitting a simple sentence into clauses is to call special attention to one or another of a fact and its causes. Compare—

tum ko van meń bas'ná kab yogya hai (To live in the jungle, does it behove you) and tum ko yah kab yogya hai ki van meń baso (Does it behove you that you should live in the forest)?

dús'roń ki cintá kar'ne vále yaháń kai haiń (Here there are many people mindful about others) and yaháń alse kai log haiń jo dús'roń ki cintá kar'te haiń (There are many such people here who care about others).

In the complex sentences the noun, the adjective and the adverb have been reduced to clauses and thus made prominent. We can grammatically reduce a complex sentence to a simple one and vice versa. But the difference of meaning between the two devices is clear. For example, savere ham log báhar gaye may imply emphasis on savere (in the morning), ham log (we), or báhar gaye (went out). The complex sentence, on the other hand, restricts the meaning by making the adverb prominent as a clause in jab saverá huá to ham log báhar gaye (When it was morning, then we went out). If the speaker wants to stress ham log (we people), he would say: ham haiń ve log jo savere báhar gaye, we are the people who went out in the morning; and so on.

THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE. This, in fact, is the main semantic function of a subordinate clause. By making it dependent, we invite greater attention to it, the principal clause serving to arouse expectation. Compare—

malń vaháń kháná kháne ke liye gayá, (I went there to take meals), and malń vaháń gayá ki kháná khá áúń, (I went there in order that I might take meals).

sone válá sab kuch kho detá hai (The sleeper loses everything), and jo sotá hai vah sab kuch kho detá hai (He who sleeps loses everything).

Whether subjective or predicative, a noun clause is a useful device to call attention to a statement, order, wish and so on. Examples—

malín kah'tá hún ki vah á rahá hal, I say that he is coming.

maiń cáh'tá húń ki jáúń, I wish that I may go.

An adjectival clause is more helpful in limiting or defining the antecedent noun or pronoun than its equivalent adjective in a simple sentence. Compare—

unhon ne jo kuch diya usi se mujhe param santos hai (I am satisfied with what he gave me), and us'ki di hui ciz par mujhe param santos hai (I am satisfied with his gift).

jis'ki lathi usi ki bhains (He who has the stick has the buffalo), and lathi vale ki bhains (The man with the stick has the buffalo).

The complex sentences above are certainly more distinct in meaning than their simple equivalents. The examples of adverbial clauses may also be considered.

Temporal—jab áp cáhenge main pahunc jáúngá, I shall reach when you desire.

Local—jahań sumati tahań sampati náná, Where there is

2. i.

good will, there is prosperity, too.

Modal-jaise ap bol'te hain vaise main nahin bol sak'ta. I cannot speak as you do.

Causal-mujhe mar'na nahin jo tera paksa karun? Have I not to die that I should take your side?

Conditional-yadi vah na áyá to dekhá jáy'gá, It will be seen if he does not come.

Frankly speaking, it is not possible to give a meaningful equivalent for the above in simple sentences and that is a clear proof of the superiority of the complex sentences in certain expressions. Their semantic value cannot be ignored,

SEMANTIC APPROPRIATENESS OF A COMPLEX SENTENCE. not only the degree of emphasis or the clarity of the prominent idea that is effected by a complex sentence, the difference between a complex and a simple sentence also lies in semantic appropriateness. A clause would, sometimes, help to define an idea that could not be exactly expressed in a simple sentence, which may either make no sense or mean differently. Compare-

jaisá desh vaisá ves. Do in Rome as the Romans do.

gári it'ni dhire cali ki shahar ke báhar din nikal áyá, the train went so slowly that it was sunrise before it reached the town.

bádal phate to kahán tak thig'li, when the cloud bursts, how can you patch it?

Many of our proverbs owe their semantic superiority to this way of expression.

Conversely, a complex sentence would, sometimes, be non-sense or vague as compared to its simple parallel. Compare-

take ká sab khel hai (It is all a play of money) but yah iit'ná khel hai vah sab take ká hai (The play that it is, it is of money). is ke bád kyá huá, what happened after this?

COMPOUND SENTENCES. Similarly a compound sentence has its place in the realm of meaning in so far as it is the best device for expressing copulative, disjunctive or adversative ideas which are semantically interdependent as such. Compare-

main pahunca mr vah cal para, I reached and he started. main baithun ya jaun? May I sit or go?

x

maiń to á gayá húń parantu vah nahíń pahuńcá, I have come but he nas not.

If these sentences are converted into simple or complex ones, the meaning will certainly change. Compare with the above jab main pahuńcá to vah cal pará, When I reached, he started, or mere pahuńc'ne par vah cal pará, He started on my reaching there.

Again, it is not always possible to express in a simple or a complex sentence an idea which can be adequately and effectively expressed in a compound sentence. It would not be safe to convert the disjunctive and adversative sentences above without violating their meaning.

PARATACTICAL SENTENCES. In colloquial Hindi the simple sentence is most predominant and the compound sentence more prevalent than the complex. This is semantically very important. Propositions arise in the mind in their simple form. Their relationship with one another is suggested rather than expressed. Parataxis, therefore, is the spontaneous expression of the common man. van meń bas'ná, yah tum ko kab yogya hai (to live in the forest, is it befitting you?) is not only the more popular but also the more forceful form. Similarly main áp'ko bhúl jáún, yah kaise ho sak'tá hai? (I should forget you, how is it possible?). A form in parataxis is more prevalent than its hypotactical equivalent.

Parataxis manages to draw the attention of the hearer by other means, e.g. intonation or word-order, which we shall consider in a later section.

2. ii. Elliptical and Tautological Sentences.

2. ii(a). Ellipsis.

Ellipsis, we have already seen, plays a great part in language. In poetical and rhetorical expressions it often lends dignity and impressiveness, with something of an archaic flavour; and to colloquial speech it gives precision and brevity and saves time and trouble. Most of our idiomatic phrases and proverbs are elliptical. Ellipsis is a semantic challenge to grammar. It is a syntactic figure of speech.

GESTURE LANGUAGE. The simplest and briefest form of elliptical expression is available in a gesticulation which supplies the place of a sentence, a frown, a smile or a nod, which speaks as plainly as words.

ONE WORD SENTENCES. Then, there are words which, when accompanied by gestures or tones, make sentences—le jáo, take away; pare, away; or, jáoge? (will you go?) jáoge! (will you go!)

The shortest linguistic unit of elliptical type is the one word sentence—

cup (silence) = cup ho jáo (keep silence).

sur! (more) = sur kuch cáhiye? Do you want more?

hán (yes) = hán yah bát thik hai (yes, it is right).

sac? (true) = kyá yah sac hai? (Is it true?)

Also note badhai (congratulations), dhanyavad (thanks), cor ! (thief!), ag (fire)!! andar (in) = I would not go in, etc.

by the juxtaposition of subject and predicate without a verb, as when children express themselves, mán ... roti (mother, bread) = mán ne mujhe roti di (mother gave me a piece of bread), or mán ji, mujhe bhi roti cáhiye, (mother, I also want a piece of bread), or when a foreigner or Non-Hindi speaker says: peshávar tikat—(Peshawar ticket) = bábú sáhab, peshávar ke liye tikat díjiye (Babu Sahib, please give one ticket for Peshawar), or when we utter an emotional sentence main cor! (I, thief!) = kyá main cor hún, (am I a thief?), etc.

Such forms are fairly common in general conversation.

INCIDENCE OF ELLIPSIS—GRAMMATICAL AND CONTEXTUAL. Ellipsis is permissible only when it assures clear understanding of meaning inspite of it. This is possible only when the omitted word or group of words is understood, either (a) by the most common consent which forms the idiom or grammatical usage of a particular language, or (b) from the given context. Hindi prefers to omit the use of various grammatical forms in particular phrases and idiomatic expressions. Examples—

(i) Subject (generally a pronoun which is denoted by the form of the verb), as in sun'te half hi aj a jayenge, We hear that he

will come today, **áiye**, Please come, **jáo**, go ('you' being understood), **abhí átá húá**, *I* am just coming, **á gaye**? has *k* come? or, have you come?

The Indian woman, who does not mention the name of her husband, would say á gaye to mean "my husband has come".

(ii) The object of a transitive verb, as in-

vah bahut pitá hai, he drinks much (water or wine).

main khátá hún, I cat (an catable).

vah parh'ta hai, he reads (lesson or book).

viván ke bád ján loge, you will know (the condition) after marriage.

meri bhi suno, Listen mine (word) also.

(iii) Verb 'to be' or a verb of motion, as in-

dúr ke dhol suháv'ne, distant drums are attractive.

áp'ká chátá, This is your umbrella.

kmn? Who = kmn ava, who has come?

kidhar, whither = kidhar ko já rahe ho, whither are you going?

(iv) A number of conjunctions, as in-

number bolá, purohit jí áye hain, The servant said that the priest had come.

áp burá na máneá to ek bát kahúá, If you don't mind, I may say something.

Paratactical sentences are generally of this type.

(v) Postpositions, as in-

lay'ka kis din ayega, On what day will the boy come? aj rat varaa hogi, It will rain (at) this night.

vah ap'ne ghar rah'tá hai, He lives in his house.
(vi) Subordinate clauses may be omitted, as in—

us'ne it'na mara ki bas, he beat him so hard that alas (noun clause).

kah'te to hain, they do say (noun clause).

jo ho, that may happen (adjectival clause).

jo ajaiya, as it is ordered (adjectival clause).

ap khá leá to, You may cat, then (adverbial clause).

agar main bád'sháh hotá, If I had been a king (adverbial clause).

The following are examples of ellipsis, in which the context is provided by what precedes or what follows—

- (i) Subject, in vah áyá mr gayá, he came and (he) went. patte sákh rahe haiń is liye kále dikhái dete haiń, leaves are drying, therefore (they) look pale.
- (ii) Predicate, in ram likh sak'tá hai mr krena nahiń, Rama can write, not Krishna (verb). merá ghar láhmar hai, áp'ká? my home is Lahore, yours? (object, adverb and verb).
- (iii) Adjunct, in mere bacce mr bhái, my children and (my)-
- (iv) Postpositions, in dukánoń mr daftaroá meň, in shops and (in) offices. baccoń mr bárhoń ke liye, for children and (for) old men. Etc. etc.,

It occurs frequently in a dialogue that words of one speaker are not repeated by another, as in kal calenge? Will you go tomorrow? acchá, all right (I shall go tomorrow).

Ellipsis is very common in answers where the complete form of answer reflects that of question and is, therefore, sufficiently well-known not to require full expression.

yah ghar kis'ka hai (Whose house is this)? hamara, (It is)

vah kab ay'ga (when will he come)? abhi, (he will come) just now.

2. ii(b). Tautology.

THE USE OF TAUTOLOGY. Tautology is the reverse of ellipsis. It occurs when the speaker is not quite sure of his hearer's capacity or willingness to apprehend what he says. He emphasizes his words by repeating them. It is a common form of colloquial speech.

samudra ke kináre par bahut se sthanoá meá namak ke kárkháne haiń, namak samudra se nikal'tá hai ná, to samudra ke kináre par kárkháne haiń. bahut se sthánoá meň sise kárkháne haiń. (There are salt factories at various places on the seacoast. Salt is obtained from the sea, so the factories are on she sea coast. Such factories are at many places).

ek thá magar'maccha mr ek thá gidar, gidar jo thá us'ki magar'maccha se dostí thí. donoú ne ek bár kuch kám kar'ne ki tháni. kám kar'ne ki jo tháni to saláh kar'ne lage. saláh kar'te kar'te (There was a crocodile and there was a jackal. That jackal had friendship with the crocodile. Both the friends once decided to start some business, they began to confer. After conferring.....)

There is another kind of tautology in Hindi, as in any other composite languages, that is, when the word is further translated into a periphrastic expression, or when some difficult word or idea is supplemented and explained by synonyms. Examples—

is ká ullekh kar dene se sandigdhatá mit játí hal, phir shak nahín rah'tá (By mentioning this all uncertainty is removed, and then no doubt is left).

yah krdanta sadá avikári rah'tá hal arthát is'ká rúp nahín badal'tá, (This derivative remains indeclinable, i.e. it does not change its form).

A BAD STYLE. Very often tautology makes the language clumsy and the meaning unhealthy. Compare—

is ke båd ve våpas imit åye, After this they returned back. yah alsi paheli hal jis'kå sul'jhå sak'nå sambhav nahin ho sak'tå, It is such a riddle that the possibility of its solution is not possible.

prátah kál ke samay, At the time of morning-time.

In some expressions tautology is the natural vehicle of emphatic speech. Examples—

ap ap'ne man se socen, Think in your own mind.

jará ánkh se dekho, See with your eyes.

Also consider lar'ke báhar na khare hoá, bhítar á jáyeá, the boys should not stand outside, they should come in. kyá tum ján'te ho ki cíní kalse banáte halá, málúm hal tumheá? Do you know how they make sugar? Do you?, tumheá vaháá cár baje pahuác jáná cáhiye, pahuácoge ná cár baje? You should reach there at four o'clock. Will you? At four.

2. iii. Coherent and Anacoluthic Sentences.

OOHERENCE. The words in a sentence must have natural proximity and compatibility. These characteristics form the mediate causes with regard to the comprehension of the meaning of a

sentence. Proximity or contiguity implies that words that are uttered at intervals cannot have an inter-relation amongst them so as to constitute a significant sentence. For instance, if the first word is pronounced now and the next half an hour afterwards, the succession of words would be interrupted. It also means that words must be placed in an order sanctioned by common usage. For instance, in Hindi a postposition must be placed immediately after the words it depends on and not after a word to which it does not refer, or that an attributive adjective must precede and not follow the noun.

Competency or consistency means that we cannot construct a sentence out of words which are not grammatically expectant or the meanings of which are mutually incompatible. A sentence like turn kyońki húńgá vah kahá savere áo ko fails to convey any meaning. Similarly am'riká ká ek jaháj cín meń makán baná rahá hal (An American ship is building a house in China), vah ág se sińc'tá hal (he irrigates with fire), though grammatically expectant, are logically inconsistent. They are not semantic units of thought.

A sentence is coherent when all its parts are mutually expectant and logically consistent. It helps the trend of understanding which becomes even and easy. The importance of coherent sentences is great especially in poetry where the poet disturbs the order or consistency of words for the sake of rythm and rhyme.

ANACOLUTHON. An anacoluthic sentence is a sentence begun in one way and finished in another not syntactically accordant. It is comparatively common in spoken Hindi, where anaptaxis plays an important part, and also in complex sentences. Such sentences though grammatically incorrect, do not fail to convey the intended meaning. Examples—

khayál rahe ki tum jo áge áge cal rahe ho dany mat lagáo, Mind that you who are going ahead don't run.

vah manuşya jo yah páp kar'tá hal, alse manuşya ko marak parápta hotá hal, He who commits sin, such a man is doomed to hell.

jo shabda ve bol'te hain, ve un'ka artha nahin samajh'te, The words that they utter, they do not understand the meaning thereof. x

SEQUENCE OF TENSES. Sometimes a sentence is anacoluthic only in appearance, especially to a foreigner, but it is quite consistent in the logic of the Indian mind. Although a grammarian like Bábu Rámacandra Varmá would insist ("Acchi Hindi", Benares. p. 67) that clauses must observe sequence of tense, colloquial Hindi, as well as Bengali and Punjabi, have no regular sequence of tenses. Compare-

jo log maráthon ká itihás ján'te hain unhen yah bhí málum hogá ki shivá jí kun the. Those who know the history of the Marathas, will be knowing who Shivaji was.

shishe ke ek bare katore se mom'batti ko dhank do. thori der ke bad dekhoge ki batti bujh gai, Cover the candle with a glass cylinder. After a short time you will see that the candle was extinguished.

main ne soca ki vah a gaya hai, I thought that he has

The semantic implication of such a sentence is clear. It describes the mood, the very import, of the sequent clause in its original; and, therefore, the impression on the hearer is direct and effective. Compare-

H. main ne puchá ki tum kann ho, and Eng. I asked him who he was. rám ne mohan ko batá diyá ki tum fel ho (Lit. Rama told Mohan that you fail) and Eng. "Rama told Mohan that he had failed".

The sequence of tense also involves the use of changed pronouns in the indirect form in English. The forms in Indian vernaculars, on the other hand, present a less amount of ambiguity.

2. iv. Statements, Wishes, Questions, Exclamations.

The meanings of these forms of sentences are varied.

STATEMENTS. A statement may contain a universal truth, asdo mr do car hote hain, two and two make four, par'meshvar sarvavyápak hal, God is omnipresent.

It may give information, as in-

durgandha ke máre vahán balthá [nahín játá, It is not possible to sit there on account of bad smell.

It may contain an advice in general, as e.g.

vidván ko sadá dharma ki cintá kar'ní cáhiye, A learned man should always think about rightcousness.

mitra vah hai jo sukh dukh meå såth de, A friend in need is a friend indeed.

It may give a reminder or warning, as-

kal tak sab mál pahuác jáná cáhiye, all goods must reach by tomorrow.

It, generally, defines or describes a thing, as-

kuttá bhanák'tá huá bhágá, the dog ran barking.

The statement, it will be noted, is an even and unemotional form of speech. As such it may show greater politeness and less passion in expressing a request, advice, wish or command. Examples—

main ne kahá thá kháná khá líjiye, I had said that you might take your meals. hamáre vicár men cale jáná hí acchá hai, In my opinion it is better to go away. ham cáh'te hain ki vah á jáye, We wish him to come.

Prayers, curses, commands, wishes and questions, expressed in this

orm, are indirect. More examples-

main prárthaná kar'tá hún ki vah svastha rahe, I pray that he may remain healthy. ham ájniyá dete hain ki vah baithá rahe, We order that he may remain sitting. ham púch'te hain ki vah kann hai, We ask who he is.

Not only the intonation in such sentences is even, but the semantic appeal is also weak.

WISHES. Wish has a variety of shades. It may be-

- (a) a command, as jão já kar so raho, Go and sleep. yah kam kar ke áná, Come after doing this work.
- (b) an advice, as dinon ko mat satáo, Do not oppress the poor.
- (c) a request, as jará baithiyega, Please do sit down. so to, lust come in.
- (d) a warning, as rah jáo, Leave it alone. dekho, dekho, Mind.
- (e) a curse or a blessing, as cal terá satyanásh, Get away and be damned, par mátmá tumben sakhi rakhe, May god bless you.
- (f) a prayer, as ham bal'ván hon, May we be strong? he bálak tum vír bano, O child, may you be brave.

x

- (g) a hope, as **aye mr kam bane**, He may come and the work be done. **shayad vah kar le**, Perhaps he may do it.
 - (h) permission or resolve, as main calun, May I go, or I may go.

(i) condition, as main cal'ta, had I gone.

Grammarians, sometimes, distinguish optative sentences from imperative ones. Semantically, however, an imperative sentence also expresses the wish of the speaker though in a strong and authoritative form.

QUESTIONS. Interrogation is a form of speech by which we, generally, express our desire for enlightenment. Questions may imply that the speaker is in ignorance and wants to know a fact, as turn kenn ho? (Who are you?), kaháń já rahe ho? (Where are you going?), war kab tak lantoge? (and, when will you return?). These questions demand a more or less detailed information.

There are questions which ask whether a general supposition or proposition is true or false, as kyá tum samajh gaye? (Do you understand?), iláhábád já rahe ho? (Are you going to Allahabad?) vah á gayá hai yá nahiá? (Has he come or not?). They demand a 'yes', or 'no' in reply. Some questions demand confirmation only, as yah thik hai ná? (Isn't it right?), yah thik nahiá hai kyá? (Is it not really true?), tumheá bhi kyá gar'mi lag rahi hai? (Do you also feel hot?). Such questions are called disjunctive questions

They also challenge or refute of a statement, as-

kyá maiń koi cor húń? (Am I a thief).

Commentative types of disjunctive questions suggest that a statement has already been made by the first speaker.

acchá ve yahán hain? (O, Is he here?).

Lastly a question may contain two alternatives of which one will constitute a reply—

tum yah cával áp kháoge yá máá ko khiláoge? (Will you take this rice yourself or give it to your mother?).

main jáún yá baithá rahún? (May I go or remain sitting?). So far we have seen how interrogative forms have various types of questions to ask. Questions may also be used to mean simply a statement, as áp mere pás kab kab áte hain (How often do you come to me?) = You seldom come. Bur kyá? (What else?) and kyon mahín? (Why not?) mean "yes".

Sometimes interrogative sentences are tantamount to emphatic

statements, as maiá us se prem kyoá na karáń? (Why should I not love her?).

A Question may mean the opposite affirmation, as—
kun rám sá putra hogá, (what son can be like Ráma?), i.e.
no one.

kyá áp na the? (Were you not there?), i.e. you were.

- A Question may also express (1) surprise or incredulity, as tumháre pitá ká svargavás ho gayá? (Is your father dead?), kyá alsá hí likhá thá, (Was it doomed like that?).
- (2) determination or despair as háy main kahán jáún? (O, where may I go now?), áp hí kahen, kyá karún? (You yourself may say: What should I do?).
- (3) deliberation, as main tum se kṣama mangun? (May I apologize?).

Sometimes questions may be expressed in a form other than interrogation. But in such cases intonation will clearly indicate that they are questions. In fact, any statement can be employed to mean a question by giving it an interrogative pitch.

EXCLAMATIONS. Exclamatory sentences denote intellectual and emotional excitement, as áhá! kit'ní acchí havá cal rahí hal. Aha! What a pleasant breeze! háy maiá mará, Ha, I am dead! Such expressions may also express a wish, as yadi malá yah bát ján'tá, Had I known it!

They may express indignant repudiation of an idea, as main! I, main cor! I, a thief!

Sometimes an exclamation is expressed in the form of a question, as we have noted above.

2. v. Affirmative and Negative Sentences.

Statements, questions, wishes, exclamations, elliptical sentences, tautological sentences and all other types of sentences may have an affirmative or a negative meaning.

AFFIRMATION. Affirmation in positive sentences may be (a) weak, (b) strong, or (c) emphatic.

(a) Affirmation is weak in general statements and unemotional

utterances, as in humáyún bábar ká betá thá, vah 1530 men dilli ká bád'sháh baná, (Humáyun was the son of Babur. He ascended the throne of Delhi in 1530), cal ap'ná kám kar, (Go and do your work).

(b) The same expressions become strong if they are uttered with a special emotional effect or pitch which suggests the meaning.

cal hat ap'ná kám kar, Get away and do your work, as a weak affirmation, suggests that the speaker simply means to avoid another person who disturbs him. The same, as a strong affirmation, would mean admonition or order. rástá chor do, leave the way, as a simple utterance, might mean a request or a wish, but as a strong affirmation it involves command or derision or contempt of authority.

(c) Affirmation is emphatic when uttered with a stress or intonation giving a particular force to important word or words.

rasta choro, Leave the way, or rasta choro, Leave the way.

Emphasis may be effected by inverting the usual order of words.

hai koi yahán par sádhu, Is there here any Sádhu? bhojan kar len áp, Meals may you take.

Also see the following section on "Order of Words".

NEGATION. Negation may be applied to words, as in an'parh, illiterate, aján, uninitiated, bekáy'dá, irregular, nádán, injudicious, nissandeh, doubtlessly, prán'rahit, lifeless, arthashúnya, meaningless, gun'hin, without a quality, etc.

Negative words of independent character may also be applied to negative a word, as na and nahín in us men ján nahín rahí (there is no life left in him), na acchá hai na burá (neither good nor bad), gair-sar'kárí, unofficial.

It is to be noted that it is usually the negation of the verb which negatives the whole utterance. This again explains the importance of the verb to the whole sentence. Examples—

aisá mat kaho, Do not say so, vah kám kyoá nahíá kar'tá, Why does he not work? yah sac nahíá hai, It is not true, kyá vah nahíá hai? Isn't he there? malá vaháá kabhi na játágá, I shall never go there. pustak kahíá nahíá mil'tí, The book is nowhere to be obtained.

Sometimes, word negation is used to mean sentence negation,

as in—na koi já sak'tá hai, Neither any one can go ..., or us men ján nahin rahi above.

If, however, any particular word preceding the negative word is emphasized, it is this word which gets the negatived idea, although the same is also shared by the verb, as in—

kyá vah nahín hai? Is he not there?

rám roti nahín khátá, Rama does not eat bread.

or rám roti nahín khátá, Ráma does not eat bread.

It has been remarked that a sentence negative in form may be affirmative in meaning or vice versa, as-

kyon nahin?, why not = yes.

yah thik nahin hai kya? Isn't it right = It is right.

áp mere pás kab kab áte halá, i.e. you seldom or never come to me.

karo to jáneň, i.e. you cannot do.

On the other hand, negation may be expressed indirectly, as in the questions: kyá maiń tumhárá nænkar húń?, am I your servant? kæn hai jo ise chere? Who is it (is there any one) that can tease him? maiń kaise já sak'tá húń? How can I go?

There are idiomatic expressions in affirmative which suggest a semi-negative meaning, as—

tum khák parhe ho. Lit. You have read dust.

parikeá meň ap'ná sir karoge?, Lit. Will you achieve your head in the examination?

Note how positive and negative expressions give identical meaning in abhi main pahuńca hi tha ki I had hardly reached there when and abhi main pahuńc'ne na paya tha ki I had not reached there when

Although double negatives constitute an affirmation, semantically there is a vast difference. Compare—

vah an'parh nahin hal, he is not illiterate, is not exactly vah parhi hui hal, he is literate. The one strongly refutes a charge, the other is a weak statement. Sentences like mali nahin jan'ta ki vah kyon nahin ata (I do not know why he does not come) can never give the intended meaning in an affirmative construction.

In complex sentences, the negation of the principal or the subordinate clause makes a great difference in meaning. Compare—

merá vicár nahía ki vah áyegá, I don't think he'll come, and merá vicár hal ki vah nahía áyegá, I think he'll not come.

HINDI SEMANTICS

- 3. ORDER OF WORDS.
 - (i) SEMANTIC IMPLICATIONS.
 - (ii) Grammatical Order The Verb The Noun and the Adjective The Adverb na, hi, bhi and to Fixed Place for certain Parts of Speech Various Cases The Subordinate clauses.

Every word has syntactical possibilities and limitations. A word is unthinkable except as somehow ordered in the system of speech. It is a very large subject, its beginnings are in Grammar, and its full development in Rhetorics. Grammar fixes a certain order and style disturbs that order for the sake of semantic propriety or clear understanding. This is important in an analytical language like Hindi. Of course, every language determines its order according to the way of national thinking. Any breach against the usual order tends to unsettle the stability of both quality and meaning, and to increase the emotional intensity.

3. i. Semantic Implications.

The normal order of the parts of a simple sentence in Hindi is (1) subject (2) predicate, (3) copula, or (1) subject, (2) object, and (3) verb. But words in this order have an ordinary steady-going meaning as in unemotional and even type of prose. The inversion of this order suggests a particular meaning. It may be noted that Indian languages present more varieties of syntactical meanings by this means than English. It is extremely difficult to translate into English the following sentences, for example, in which the changed position of words effects important semantic differences. Compare kenn karegá and karegá kenn? The first enquires about the person who would do that work. The other sentence suggests that it is not an easy job to do, the stress falling on karegá (the doing) on account of its altered place.

Take ek raja tha and ek tha raja and tha ek raja. The first is an ordinary, unemotional, even type of statement as in a narrative and means simply: "There was a king". The second sentence calls special attention to the word "raja" and the third suggests confirmation of a previous statement which has been questioned. The

changed position of the verb is significant. It emphasizes the past existence of the king, who is not living now.

jaldi cale and cale jaldi. The first suggests that a person is walking but not quite fast, and is wanted to accelerate his speed. The second implies that the man is, perhaps, stationary. He is required to move and move quickly. The word jaldi, at once, receives greater emphasis in the first sentence.

us'ne ram ko ghari di, ram ko us'ne ghari di, and ghari us'ne ram ko di. The first is a normal statement that he gave Rama a watch (nothing else). The changed position of 'ram ko' in the second sentence, implies that he gave to Rama a watch and to others something else, or that he gave the watch to Rama and not to anybody else. The third sentence brings ghari into prominence and replies an enquiry about the watch which, it is said, has been given to Rama.

It may be noted that the most important words are placed either in the beginning or at the end of a sentence. That is why in ordinary talk the subject occupies the first position and the verb ends a sentence.

3. ii. Grammatical Order.

THE VERB. The final position of the verb in Hindi sentences, including statements, questions, wishes, exclamations, is fully accounted for by the verb's importance to the whole, all the various preceding parts, the subject and their adjuncts, being either directly dependent upon, or else indirectly associated with it. Compare the position of verb in Hindi and English sentences—

us'ne yah makán ban'váyá thá, but Eng. "He kad built this house."

kyá yah makán us'ne ban'váyá thá?, but Eng. "Did he build this house?"

us'ne kyá ban'váyá? Eng. "What did he build?" kyá vah laág'rá hai! Eng. "Is he lame!" jaldí ghar jáo, Eng. "Go home at once."

Not to speak of the effects of cuphony, the verb, however, is disposessed of its terminal position by individual words demanding special attention, x

jo utháyegá ise vah shatru hogá merá, (he who will take up this, will be an enemy of mine).

mere hath men hai ek pustak, (In my hand is a book).

Sometimes it is shifted from its normal position and given special emphasis by antithetical requirements. detá kyon nahín, (Gives why not he) suggests protest or determination on the part of the speaker to make the third person yield. khá to lún mithái par dáktar ká dar hai, (Eat I may sweets, but I am afraid of the doctor) suggests that there are special instructions about "eating".

The copula receives the greatest emphasis when placed in the beginning of a sentence, as hal to sahi, (It) is there, of course.

This is particularly done to heighten the effect of a following adversative idea, as had to garib par bará buddhimán had. In English we will say "Poor he is, but he is wise."

THE NOUN AND THE ADJECTIVE. An adjective or an adjective equivalent is a means of restricting the meaning of the noun, and, therefore, naturally stands first in the new compound phrase. Were it not so preceded, the noun would retain its ordinary sense. That explains the position of an adjective used attributively and of one used predicatively. Compare acche ad'mi hain, they are good men, and ad'mi acche hain, men are good.

The compound term acchá ád'mi, a good man, pápi manusya, a sinful person, kálá ghorá, a black horse, khori cál, a wicked move, is considered as one idea referring to the noun. It is the compounded idea which can be expressed even by one of the compounds, as cál, move, = khori cál, wicked move, bare, big, = bare ád'mi, big people. The inversion of order separates from the noun its quality which is made prominent by antithesis. Compare—

vah nic purus hal, he is a mean fellow, and vah purus nic hal, that fellow is mean.

yah merá ghar hal, this is my house, and yah ghar merá hal, this house is mine.

sote hue lar'ke ne lat mari, The sleeping boy kicked, and lar'ke ne sote huye lat mari, the boy kicked in sleep.

We have already remarked that the predicative use of an adjective makes it adverbial. In fact any change in the normal position of the adjective makes it more prominent than the noun itself. Compare—

kal'yug meá rájá up'je halá abhimání (In Kaliyuga are kings born haughty), kuttá hal yah dhobí ká (Dog it is the washerman's).

Sometimes the adjective may retain its dependent position but the noun may be separated from it and given a more emphatic meaning, as rám'ká putra thá vah bhí suggests that like the worthy son of a worthy father he was also Ráma's duteous son; but putra thá rám'ká vah bhí means that he was not an ordinary man's son, the prominence being given to 'Ráma' in this sentence.

When there are more than one qualificatives, their position in relation to the noun varies with the difference in meaning intended. Compare—

do pah'le lar'ke (the two first boys), and pah'le do lar'ke, (the first two boys).

acchi kinari ki dhoti, (a Dhoti with a good border), and kinari ki acchi dhoti, (a good Dhoti with a border). pani ka ek lota (a jug of water), and ek pani ka lota (Jug of some water or any drink).

THE ADVERB. Like adjectives, adverbs, most normally, precede the qualified. In the English sentence, 'he ran fast', the hearer's mind conjures up some picture of a person running, which must be corrected by the next word. In Hindi expressions, the mental action is one. It is anamolous for English to recognise this principle in the case of adjectives but not to observe it tenaciously in adverbs. Compare—

- H. vah tez dwir'ta hai, and Eng. "He runs fast."
- H. vah accha lar'ka nahin hal, and Eng. "He is not a good boy."

It is psychologically very important having a qualificative restriction before the general term.

The adverb is removed from its usual order when it is intended to be made rather independent and emphatic. Compare turn jákar pách lo and turn pách lo jákar. The first sentence has emphasis on pách lo (ask), jákar (by approaching) serving only to qualify and restrict the method of asking. The second makes jákar prominent and suggests that 'approaching' would be necessary.

Take ap ne yah khabar jarar suni hogi and jarar ap'ne yah khabar suni hogi. The first is a mere statement. The speaker is more definite in the second about his having heard the news, jarur in the beginning of a sentence suggesting emphasis and certainty.

Compare also tum kab áoge? and tum áoge kab? The first sentence asks about the time of your coming. The second implies that you are, perhaps, not coming at all, and the speaker is particular primarily about your coming and secondarily about the time.

Sometimes the adverb retains its position while the verb is displaced for the sake of its own effect, or some word or words from other positions may intervene and change meaning. Compare—

- (a) rám ne bálí ko chip'kar már dálá,
- (b) rám ne chip'kar bálí ko már dálá,
- (c) már dálá rám ne chip'kar bálí ko,
- (d) bálí ko chip'kar rám ne már dálá.

The first is an ordinary statement—Rama killed Bali hidingly. The second may emphasize **chip'kar** (hiding) or **bali**. The third lays stress on his killing Bali. It arouses sensation over the act of killing. The fourth sentence brings Bali into prominence.

The adverb also attains its prominence by taking the first position in a sentence, although it may still be followed by the verb, as anandapurvak rah'tá thá vah, delightedly did he live, kaháá ho tum, suggests that the speaker is extremely keen about the place where you are.

Note how the position of the adverb affects the meaning of the sentences—ab main kyá karún and main ab kyá karún? The first sentence emphasizes the word "now" and suggests that so far it was all right but now the speaker does not know what to do. The second sentence shows that the speaker is worried about himself, other people having known what they should do.

na-hi-bhi-to. The adverbs na and nahin (not) and hi (even), bhi (also, too) and to (of course) can qualify compound verbs in two ways. They may precede the compound or may intervene between its parts and thus effect important semantic variations. Compare main nahin já sak'tá and main já nahin sak'tá. The first emphasizes the adverb nahin, the second lays stress on the verb and suggests that "I can do any other thing, but I am unable to go." vah na uth saká and vah uth na saká. The first is a simple statement. The second makes uth'ná, to lift, prominent, and suggests that he could move it but not lift it up. vah bhí á gayá and vah á

bhí gayá. The one suggests that among others "he also had come". The other means that he had done some other action, say of going to some place, and had then come. patra ág meň hí pheňk diyá and patra ág meň pheňk hí diyá. The first implies that the letter was thrown into the fire and nowhere else. The second suggests that it was not expected but he did throw it into the fire. kám to kar cuká and kám kar to cuká. The one lays stress on the work, which was finished and the other on the finishing itself of the work.

bhí, to and hí as enclitics emphasize the words which they follow. Their position greatly affects the syntactical meaning. Compare merá bhí ek betá parh'tá thá, merá ek betá parh'tá bhí thá. The first suggests that sons of many persons were studying and mine was one of them. The second implies that my son, besides my daughter or daughters, was studying. The third means that the son was doing some other job also besides studying. Also compare—

malá to áp'kí ájáiyá biná nahín játá suggests that others may go without your permission, but I don't.

malá áp'ki to ájáiyá biná nahiá játá suggests that I may go without anybody else's permission, but I must take yours before going.

maiá áp'ki ájáiyá biná to nahíá játá, I may go but not without your permission.

main áp'ki ájáiyá biná jatá to nahín implies that I may be playing about here but I am not going away without your permission.

malé hi yah kém nahén kar'ná cáh'tá suggests that there are none others, I alone do not want to do this work.

maiń yah hi kám nahiá kar'ná cáh'tá, I like any other work but not this one.

malé yah kém hi nahié kar'né céh'té suggests that I am fed up with the work itself which I don't like.

main yah kam kar'na hi nahin cah'ta lays great stress on 'not doing' the work.

FIXED PLACE FOR CERTAIN PARTS OF SPEECH. This discussion may suggest that there is no fixed order of words in Hindi. But postpositions and conjunctions have their fixed place, and any change of order would prove disastrous and make meaningless sentences. 2

Similarly the adverb qualifying the adjective is syntactically considered as an attribute of an adjective and it must precede it.

bahut acchá lar'ká hal, he is a very good boy, may be lar'ká bahut acchá hal, the boy is good, but not acchá lar'ká bahut hal, or acchá bahut lar'ká hal.

VARIOUS CASES. Some simple sentences may have two objects or two or more adverbials. As a rule, the primary (indirect) object (in dative) immediately precedes the secondary (or direct) object (in accusative), as in raja ne daridron ko vastra diye, but Eng. "The king gave clothes to the poor", though the construction: "I gave him a book" is also prevalent.

The order, however, can be changed for emphasis, as daridron ko raja ne vastra diye, to the poor the king gave clothes, or raja ne vastra daridron ko diye, for which an Englishman might say "The king gave clothes to the poor." The Semantic difference in the sentences above is clear.

There is no fixed order for the adverbial-nouns with postpositions denoting instrumental, ablative and locative. In smooth and ordinary speech we use, first locative, then ablative and then instrumental. When there are many words in locative, those denoting time come first. Examples—

rát ko cmdh'rí ne jaggú ko chure se már dálá, (At night the Chaudhri killed Jaggú with a dagger).

ap'ni stri se kallú ne yah bát kapat se man'vá li, (From his wife Kallu got the confession by fraud).

din men kai bar akash men dhuli si dikhai deti hal, (Many times in the day something like dust is seen in the sky).

We may, however, place these adverbials at any place for emphasis and prominence and for change of meaning, as in ákásh men kai bár din men dhúli si dikh pay'ti hai, it is suggested that the phenomenon is observable in the sky, while in the original construction above the attention is particularly drawn to the fact that the phenomenon occurs several times in the day.

subordinate clauses. As regards the compound sentences, the general rule is that the principal clause should precede the qualifying or subordinate clause. But it is again a question of emphasis. If the emphasis is intended on the principal clause, it

comes first.

us'ne púchá ki tum kaháń se áye ho, He asked: where do you come from?

ham ne to yah tab sam'jhá jab áp log na á sake, We knew it only then when you could not come.

If, on the other hand, the subordinate clause is made more prominent than the principal, it precedes the latter. In a sense, the subordinate clause is given a principal position, at least semantically,

jo cori karega vah danda pavega, (Who steals, he will be punished).

yadi áp cáhen to main jáun? (If you wish, I may go).

4. INTONATION AS A MEANS OF SYNTACTIC CHANGE.

4. Intonation as a means of Syntactic Change.

It has been noted under certain sections of discussion above that, intonation, which includes length, tone and stress, also plays an important part in conveying a desired variety of meanings. Intonation as a factor of syntactical meaning varies with variation in the word-order or in the form or mood of the sentence. Note the change in intonation with the change in the position of

(a) the subject, in ap bhojan kar len and bhojan kar len ap.

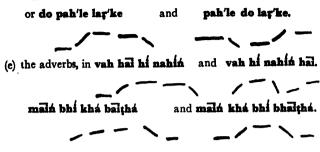


(b) the verb, in kmin karegá and karegá kmin.

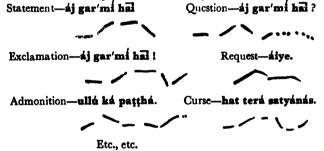


(c) the copula, in vah hai and hai to sahi.

(d) the adjective, in acche ád'mi hain and ádmi acche hain



The intonation of sentences containing command, request, question or exclamation is quite different. Compare—



Hindi has no tone of any semantic importance. It is the pitch which suggests moods and meanings. The pitch varies with varied senses of question, request, command, advice, warning, surprise, protest, admiration, astonishment, joy, sorrow, satisfaction, confirmation, contempt or any other mood. In fact any form of sentence may be so pitched as to convey the desired effect.

Pitched syllables or words are generally accompanied by stressaccent and length in Hindi. tum kyá samajh'te ho, what do you understand, may have stress on tum, or kyá, or samajh'te. The same syllable would be lengthened and receive musical pitch as well. Sometimes háń, náń, haiń, kyá, etc. are affixed at the end of a sentence and pitched according to the sense to be conveyed.

For a more detailed treatment of intonation as a semantic factor, Hindi has yet to wait, for the findings of phoneticians who have not cared to supply any data on which any detailed principles could be evolved.

APPENDIX BIBLIOGRAPHY INDEX OF WORDS & ILLUSTRATIONS INDEX OF MATTERS

APPENDIX

A list of Synonyms from Arabic-Persian and Indo-Aryan parallelly existing in Hindi (vide page 128)

'adávat	bair	bar'dáshta	sahan (kar'ná)
af'sar	adhikárí	b'ád	piche
agar	yadi	bád'sh á h	mahárájá
'ajíb	vicitra	bág	bárí
agh'bár	samácár-patra	bárish	varsá, menh
'agla	buddhi	báshindá	nivásí
'alává	atirikta	bai	beci
amír	dhani	bc-adab	ashişta
áb'páshí	sińcai	beshak	nissandeh
áb'rú	mán	betáb	vyákul
áfat	vipatti	bímár	rogí
'ám	sádháran	bímárí	rog
ásmán	ákásh	buqhár	táp
ástín	báńh	buz'dil	dar'pok, kayar
'aib	doş		
'aish	bhog-vilás	cańd	kuch
angát	sámarthya	cákar	8evak
'aura t	stri, joru	cíz	vastu
anzár	hathiyar, rách		
	·	dafá	bár
badan	tan	daftar	káryálay
bad'hazmi	ajirna	dagá	chal
badí	burá	dalál	bic'vai
bad'n á mí	nindá	dalíl	tarka
bagair	biná	dam	sváńs
bahádur	shur'vir	dańgá	jhagʻrá
bahár	vasanta rtu	dar'bár	(ráj) sabhá
bal'gam	kaph	darda	pírá
bandobasta	prabandha	dar'já	pad
banisbat	apeksá	dastaqhat	hastákşar
barábar	samán	davá	anşadh (oşad)
bar'bád	nașța	daváqháná	20.5 adhálay

dákhil	pravista, paithá huá	garib	daridra, nirdhan
dám	mol	garur	ghamanda
danlat	dhan	gaváh	sáksi, sákhi
danrá	pherá	gotá	dub'ki
dil	man, hṛday	gulám	dás
dillagí	thatholí	gussá	krodh
dimág	mastiska, bhejá	gustákh	ashişta
díváná	págal		
dosta	mitra	had, hadda	simá
dukán	háţ	hal	nip'tárá
dum	púńch	hameshá	sadá
duniya	jagat, sańsár	ham'lá	ákraman, carhái
durusta	thík	haq'dár	adhikárí
dushman	shatru	haraj, harja	bádhá, akáj
		havá	váyu
e't'ráz	ápatti	h a ns'lá	sáhas
e'vaz (meń)	bad'le (meń)	himmat	sáhas
		hisáb	lekhá
fan	kalá	hissá	bhág
faqir	sádhu	hoshiyar	catur
farqa	antar	hujjat	tarka
fareb	chal		
fariyád	prárthaná	ikhtiyár	vash, adhikár
fasad	jhagʻrá	il'zám	abhiyog
fasla	upaj, samay	ishárá	sain
fattir	vikár	istaduá	bin'ti
fazül	vyartha, nirarthak	ińtizám	prabandha
fáqá	up'vás, chuttí	intizar	
fáy'dá	lábh	(kar'ná)	parakh(ná)
fais'lá	nirņay	ittifáq	sańyog
fikra	cinta	'izza t	pratisthá, ádar
		imán	sacái
gadar	upadrav		
galat	ashuddha	jagah	sthal
gam	dukh	jaldí	shighra
gańda	maila	javáb	uttar
garam	tátá	jáhil	ujadda
garaz	prayojan	ján	prán
gar'dá	dhul	ján'var	pashu

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járí	cálti	málik	svámí
judá	alag	má'múlí	sádháran
jurma	ap'radh	mátam	shok
J	- F	mangá'	samay
kam	thorá	me'dá	ámáshay
kami	ghati	meh'man	atithi
kamina	ochá	minar	láth
kamar'band	nálá	mirás	ba p a nti
kam zyádá	thorá bahut	miy'ád	avadhi
káfúr	kapúr	mudarris	shikşak
káhil	ál'si	muddat	avadhi, kál
kám'yáb	saphal	muhar	thappá
kár	kám	muj′ráí	katanti
káshta	kheti	muláyam	komal
kinárá	chor	mulka	desh
kiráyá	bhárá	mul'zim	abhiyukta
kitáb	pothí	munádí	dhindhora
kulí	moțiyá	muqábilá	virodh
		musáfir	yátrí, pathik
lashkar	sená		
lál	rakta	nabza	nári
lásh	shav	naf'á	lábh
liház	sańkoc	naqda	rokar
		namak	lon, non
madad	saháy'tá	namí	árdratá
madarisá	páth'shálá	naqla	pratilipi
magar	kintu	naqh'rá	háv-bháv
mah'sül	kar	naq'li	jálí
maj'búr	vivash	naram,	
makán	ghar	narma	komal
mańzur	svíkrt	nashá	mad
mash 'húr	prasiddha	nasla	vańsh
mas'lan	yathá _.	natija	phal sukumártá
mat'lab	prayojan	nazákat	
mazá	ánanda	námarda	napuńsak nakh
mazáq	hańsi, thatthá	náqhún násamajh	nakn nirbuddhi
máfi	kşamá	nasamajn názuk	sukumár
máh	más la mán	nazuk nanjaván	nav'yuvak
mál'guzári	lagán	manjavan	HAY YUVAL

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naukar	țahaluá	qaid	bandhan, karavas
nek	bhalá	qaidí	bandi
nigáh	cit'van	qhabar	samácár
nihál _,	sukhi	qhabta	pagal'pan
nihárí	jal'pán	qhazán'ci	rok'ŗi
nishán	cinha	qharca	vyay
niválá	grás, kaur	qhar'gosh	shashá
niyat	icchá	qhatma	púrá
numáish '	pradarshini	qhális	shuddha
nuq'san	háni	qhálí	rita
		qhán'dán	gharáná
'oh'dá	pad	qhátir	satkár
		qhid'mat	sevá
pahal'ván	malla	qhiláf	viruddha
pareshán	ghab'ráyá	qhitáb	pad'vi
par'hez	bacáv	qhud	áp, svayam
pákháná	tatti	qhush	magan, prasanna
paidá	utpanna	qhushámad	cáp'lúsí
paidávár	upaj	qhush'bú	sugańdhi
pec	ghumáv	qhún	lahú
peshá	vyav'sáy		
pesháb	mút (mútra)	rańj	khed
pesh'gi	agáú	rasid	pahuńc
pesh'vai	agʻvani	raván'gi	prasthán, cálán
pushta	pírhí	ráh'zaní	dáká
		rástá	márga, path
qad	d íl	registán	marusthal
qadam	dag	rihá	mukta
qahar	ápatti į	rishtedár	sambandhi, náti
qalam	lekh'ni	rosh'ni	prakásh
qarar	thah'ráv	roz	din
qarib	nikaţ	rozi	jíviká
qarib qarib	lag'bhag		
qatla	hatyá	sabza	hará
qatár	pańkti	safed	gorá, cittá, uj'lá
qat'rá	bund	saláh	parámarsha,
qastir	ap'rádh		Sammati
qabil	yogya	saqhta	kathor, kará
qábú	vash	savál	prashna

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sazá sáf sáyá salláb sharam sharif	dańd nirmal, shuddha cháyá bárh lajjá, láj bhalá	umda ummid ustad vajah vazifa	barhiya asha gurd, acarya karan vrtti, chatravrtti
shádí	viváh, byáh	vazir	mantri
shanq shaobi	cáv ahańkár	vádá	pratijniya Im.
sheqhi shikar	anankar aher	vápas vár'dát	lança
shub'há	aner sandeh	var dat västä	ghaț'na
shukra	dhanyavád	vasta vaste	lagáv lic
shurú	árambha	vaste viláyat	videsh
sustí	álasya	virán	videsn ujár
súrat	rúp	V 11 (411	w]wi
	- F	yatim	anáth
tab'dili	parivartan	yá	vá, ath'vá
tah	parat	yani	arthát
tak'lif	kasta	yár	mitra
talásh	khoj	yárí	mitratá
tar	gila	-	
taraf	or	zubán	jibh
tarah ု	bhánti	zabradastí	atyácár
taraqqi	unnati	zahar	viş
tarázul	tulá, tak'rí	zakham	gháv
tariqá	dhang	zamáná	samay
tar'kib	dhang	zamín	bhumi, dhar'ti
tar'tib	kram	zarda	pila
tasalli	santoş	zarurat	ávashya k ítá
tash'rif	padhár'ná	zái'a	nasta
tas'vir	citra	zidda	hath
táid tákid	anumodan	zor	bal, shakti
takid t'arif	anurodh	zulma	atyácár
·	prashańsa, laksaņ	zyádá	adhik, bahut
umar, umra	áyu, avasthá		

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